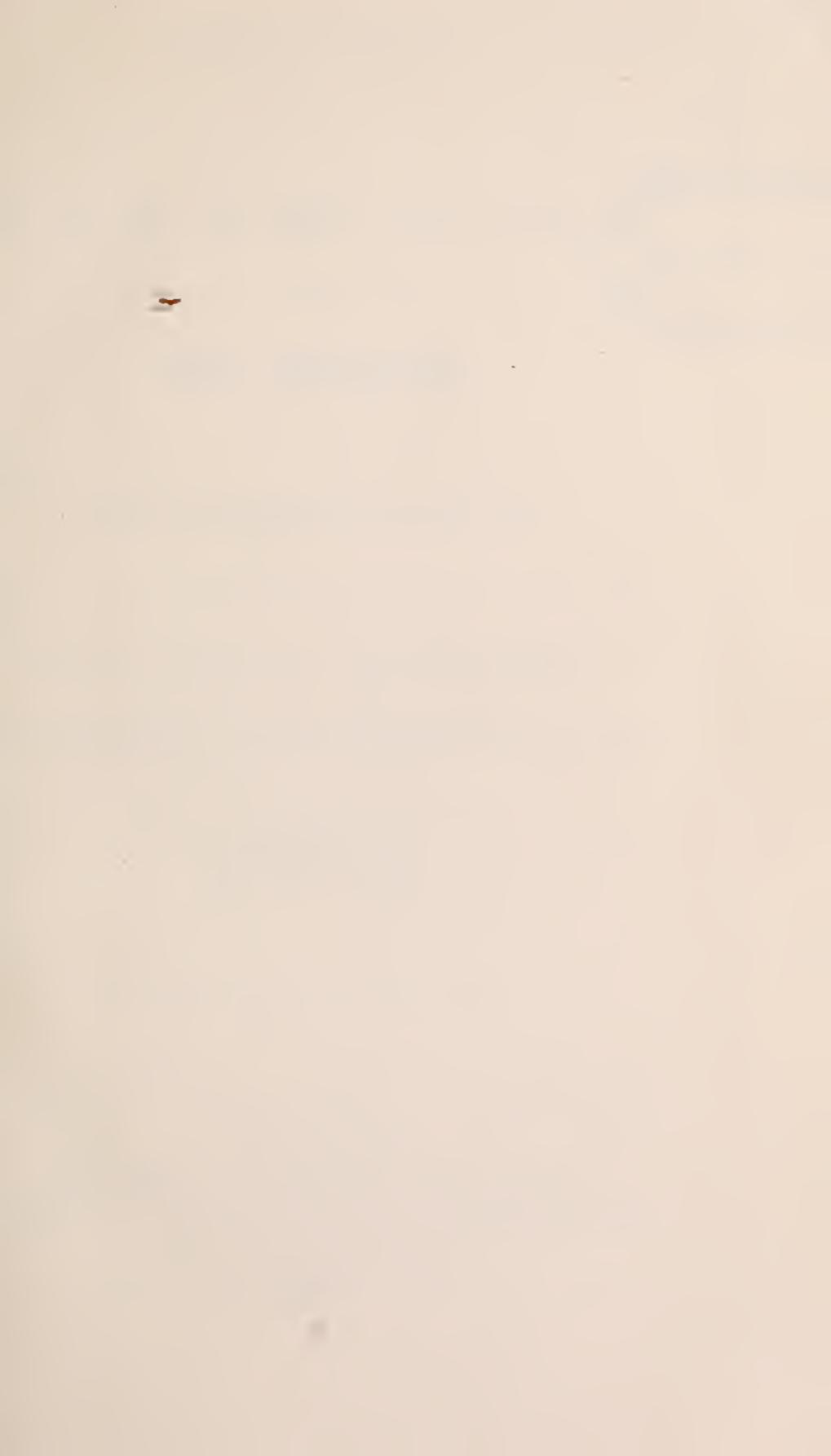


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History of the crusades
against the Albigenses





H I S T O R Y

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OF

T H E C R U S A D E S

AGAINST

The Albigenses,

IN

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY,

FROM THE FRENCH OF

J. C. L. SIMONDE DE SISMONDI:

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WILNA,
OF THE ACADEMY AND SOCIETY OF ARTS OF GENEVA, OF THE ITALIAN ACADEMIES OF GEORGOFILI,
CAGLIARI, AND PISTOIA, ETC. ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

UBI SOLITUDINEM FACIUNT, PACEM APPELLANT.—TACITUS.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

THE attention of the public has been, of late, much directed to the character and sufferings of the Albigensian Christians, and to the principles and conduct of the church of Rome, through whose instigation, and by whose authority, they were persecuted and destroyed. The outlines of those persecutions are sufficiently known, having been presented in the pages of general history; and even their particular details have been minutely depicted by those who have vindicated the cause of the sufferers, and by others who were the witnesses and agents of their sufferings. Yet a history was still wanted which should trace the rise and progress of these calamitous events with truth and precision, and at the same time give such a view of the shifting scenes by which they were attended, as to cause them to make an indelible impression upon the mind. This object has been accomplished by M. Simonde de Sismondi, who has, in his history of the French people, now in the course of publication at Paris, bestowed much

pains and research on the subject of the crusades of the Roman church against the Albigenses, and has treated it with so much eloquence and beauty of style, and such a spirit of philosophic enquiry, as to render it a most interesting episode in that valuable work. The volume here offered to the English reader is an attempt to exhibit that part of M. Sismondi's narrative, with only so much of the general history as may serve for its connexion and illustration. Although, therefore, it is only an extract from a larger work, yet it nevertheless embraces an entire, and, to a considerable degree, an independent subject; giving a view of a series of interesting events, issuing in a catastrophe, of great importance to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and of lasting influence upon the future destinies of Europe and of the world. It commences with the thirteenth century, and comprises a period of about forty years, detailing the progress in civilization, liberty, and religion, of the fine countries in the south of France, and the destruction of that liberty and civilization, the devastation and ruin of those countries, and the extinction of those early efforts for religious reformation, through the power and policy of the church of Rome. It relates the establishment of the inquisition, and the provisions by which this merciless tribunal was adapted to become, for ages, the grand engine of domination to that ambitious and persecuting power. And

it marks the complete establishment of civil and ecclesiastical despotism, by the surrender of all those states, with their rights and liberties, to the dominion and controul of the French monarch, under the direction of the Roman pontiff. When therefore the curtain at last falls upon this sad tragedy, it seems as if the night of ignorance and tyranny had closed upon the nations for ever.

The attentive reader cannot fail to remark, that these events give a very different representation of the principles of the church of Rome, from that which is offered to us by its modern advocates, and especially by that respectable body the English catholics. It becomes, therefore, a proper, and even a necessary, subject of enquiry, whether these are the true interpreters of the principles of the church to which they belong, or whether we are to seek for their interpretation in the recorded acts and authentic documents of the church itself. They represent the authority of the church of Rome as merely spiritual, and extending only to its voluntary subjects, and assert that the natural rights of men, and the authority of civil governments, are equally beyond its controul: yet it must be remarked, on the one hand, that the church of Rome allows of no private interpretation of its dogmas, where the church has decided; and on the other, that the history of its proceedings by no means justifies their representations. The church may not indeed, in future, ever be able to

resume that authority by which it has heretofore trampled on the rights both of subjects and their rulers ; but should it ever again be in a situation to act as its own interpreter of its own claims, it is scarcely to be supposed that it would then recognize the limits which either individuals or bodies in its communion had attempted to place to the exercise of its sovereign will. We are, therefore, under the necessity, as far as it may be desirable for us to become acquainted with the claims of the church of Rome, to seek them, not from private opinions, but from its own authoritative and deliberate acts.

We are also bound to consider, that the dogmas of the church of Rome are not subjects of mere speculation. She has always claimed a divine right of imposing them on the minds of men, and has, at different times, attained to a power of enforcing these claims, unexampled in the history of mankind. With those religious dogmas by which she still subjungates the souls of her votaries, we, who after two centuries of conflict have withdrawn from her domination, have no concern, any further than she is amenable for them to the bar of reason and truth ; but, besides the controul which she exercises over those of her own communion, she has ever maintained certain rights towards those whom she is pleased to designate as heretics, and has often exercised those rights with a severity, for which no authority is to be

found, except in her own traditions. We have, therefore, on our part, a right to demand a renunciation of those claims, as public and authoritative as the exercise of them has ever been, or to guard ourselves against their repetition, by such prudential and cautionary measures, as the circumstances of the times may require.

The crusades against the Albigenses seem to present one of those occasions by which the rights, claimed by the Roman church towards heretics, may be most fully and accurately ascertained. They were her exclusive and deliberate act. The church of Rome had been then, according to its own principles, established for nearly twelve hundred years. It professed to have been endowed with miraculous powers, and to be guided by the teachings of the infallible spirit of God. All the temporal authorities had submitted to its domination and were ready to execute its orders. If therefore there is any period in which we should seek for its genuine and authentic principles, it must be under the unclouded dominion of Innocent III. Nor can the opponents of all reformation possibly desire any thing more, than to restore that golden age of the church. Should they say, that, civilization and philosophy having then made but small progress, we are to charge the cruelties which were committed against the heretics to the ignorance and barbarism of the times, we would reply, that all these cruelties were

prompted, encouraged, and sanctioned, by Rome itself, and that an infallible church cannot require the lights of philosophy to instruct her in her duties towards heretics. To an impartial inquirer it would seem rather strange, that under the spiritual illumination afforded by this church to the nations, heresies should have arisen which required such severe measures for their extirpation, and that with all the powers of heaven and earth on its side, the church could not trust itself in the field of reason and argument against them. But certain it is, that heresies did arise, and that the church of Rome felt itself called upon to shew to that age, and to all succeeding ones, the full extent of the power, with which it was invested by heaven, for their suppression and extirpation.

The dogma on which all these transactions were founded is—that the church possesses the right to extirpate heresy, and to use all the means which she may judge necessary for that purpose—and to those who are not acquainted with the subtle distinctions of the Roman casuists, this dogma seems to possess all the claims to authority which the church ever makes necessary for an article of faith. It was on this dogma that Innocent III and his legates preached the crusade against the heretics, and promised to those who engaged in it, the full remission of all sins; it was on this dogma that they excommunicated the civil powers by whom they were, or supposed to be, protected,

and disposed of their dominions to those who assisted in this spiritual warfare. This dogma was repeatedly avowed by provincial councils, and finally ratified by an oecumenical or general council, the fourth of Lateran.¹ It was received by the tacit—nay by the cordial and triumphant assent of the universal church, and had also the sanction of the civil authorities, who received from the church the spoils of the deposed and persecuted princes. We can therefore conceive of nothing which should be still necessary to constitute this dogma an article of faith, and hold ourselves justified in considering the church of Rome to claim, as of divine authority, the right to extirpate heresy, and for that purpose, if she judge it necessary, to exterminate heretics.

¹ This council not only determined the spiritual power of the church over heretics, but defined the application of that power to temporal princes. Cap. iii, “Si dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hæretica fœditate, per Metropolitanos et cæteros provinciales Episcopos vinculo excommunicationis innodetur; et si satisfacere contempserit infra annum, significetur hoc Summ. Pontifici, et extunc ipse vassalos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos, et terram exponet Catholicis occupandam, qui eam, hæreticis *exterminatis* (id est, ex vi vocis *expulsis*), sine ullo contradictione possideant, salva jure Domini principalis, dummodo super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum, eadem nihilominus lege servata, circa eos qui non habent Dominos principales.”—See *Delahogue, Tract. de Ecclesia Christi*, p. 202. The author adds, “Nonnulli critici dubitant de authenticitate hujus canonis.” And well they do; for without this doubt, the cause of the Romish church is lost irrevocably. The count of Toulouse and the Albigenses however *felt* its authenticity. The parenthesis (*vi vocis expulsis*) does not belong to the original article, but is a gloss of the learned author, by which he would insinuate that the heretics were only to be banished: a miserable attempt to pervert the plainest language and the most notorious facts.

Nor has this principle, which was evidently avowed and acted upon at the period of these Crusades, been ever renounced by any authentic or official act of that church ; on the contrary, the church has, during the six hundred years which followed these events, invariably, as far as occasions have served, avowed the same principles, and perpetrated or stimulated the same deeds. As soon as the wars against the Albigenses were terminated, the inquisition was brought into full and constant action, and has always been encouraged and supported by the Romish church, to the utmost of its power, in every place where it could obtain an establishment. The civil authorities, finding by experience that some of the claims of the church were more prejudicial than useful to themselves, have denied to it the right of deposing sovereigns, and of freeing subjects from their allegiance : but the church itself has never, generally and explicitly, renounced this claim, and, long after the Reformation in Germany, continued to exercise it. And, notwithstanding the professions made by modern catholics on this subject, history does not furnish an instance of any body of that profession interposing its protest against the persecution of heretics by the church of Rome. The French government under the administration of Cardinal Richelieu did indeed, for the sake of weakening the power of Austria, support the German free states,

and consequently the protestants, but it joined at the same time with the church in the persecution of the French protestants ; and could it have obtained the ascendancy which it sought for in Germany, would doubtless have exercised the same persecutions there.

One of the rights the most constantly claimed and exercised by the Roman see, throughout its whole history, is that of dissolving oaths. The history of the Italian Republics in the middle ages, by this same M. de Sismondi, contains instances of this, as a recognized, undisputed, and every-day practice, in almost every pontificate. One instance may serve for an illustration, amongst a multitude of others. There were certain reforms in the pontifical government, which were required by the leading persons of the church, but which they could never obtain from the Popes themselves. The cardinals, therefore, when they were going to elect a new Pope, were accustomed to bind themselves, by the most solemn oaths, that whoever of them should be chosen Pope would grant those reforms. And, invariably, as soon as the pope was chosen, he released himself from his oath, on the ground of its being contrary to the interests of the church. The power of releasing from the obligation of oaths was also extended, during these crusades especially, to freeing the subjects of heretical princes from their oaths of allegiance ; and it

was especially sanctioned by the fourth council of Lateran. This practice has, however, become so obnoxious in modern times, that the right has been indignantly disowned by most of the advocates of the Roman Catholic church; and this disavowal forms a part of the liberties of the Gallican church. And yet a public act has been performed in our own times by the Roman pontiff, in the face of all Europe, which seems to have had no other foundation than the assumption of an absolute power in the church to set aside the most solemn engagements. The case alluded to is the divorce of the empress Josephine, the lawful wife of Napoleon, contrary to the principles of the Christian religion, and the express authority of Jesus Christ himself.

An English statesman² has, in a printed work, called upon the English and Irish Catholics to give an explicit statement of their sentiments upon certain points which are, as he supposes, misapprehended by the protestants; intimating, at the same time, the hopelessness of attempting to draw such a declaration from the authorities of the church. But this would in no respect affect the grand point at issue between the catholics and protestants. We are sufficiently informed respecting the opinions of the English and Irish catholics and those of many other private bodies in the church of Rome. Our doubts only regard

² Mr. Wilmot Horton, "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," pp. 45, 46.

their authority to make such declarations, as members of a church which prohibits the right of private judgment where the church has determined. And all we apprehend is, that should it ever be within the power of the Roman church, and consistent with her policy, to proceed against the English and Irish heretics, the declarations of the respectable bodies we have mentioned, and even the authority of the most eminent individuals, would not shield us from the fate of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century.

In practice, we are doubtless secure from such a revolution ; but to what are we indebted for this security ?—to any change in the principles of the church of Rome, since the times of the crusades against heretics ; or to our own power, and the progress of public opinion ? If to the former, it belongs to the catholics to show us this magna charta of our rights and immunities. If to the latter, we are then obliged to tell them, that we hold our liberties only by the tenure of our power to maintain them ; and that every concession, made to that church, is a voluntary manifestation of our sense of security, arising from our own efforts, against any future attempts at persecution.

It is also an interesting subject of inquiry, on what grounds modern catholics can justify or palliate the persecutions against the Albigenses ; and they are thus stated by a writer of that per-

suation⁵ in a work published in 1793: "The Albigenses avowed the leading principles of the Manicheans, and differed from them only by adopting the principal errors of other heretics who had been condemned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These were distinguished by the names of Cathari, Puritani, Paulicians, Patarini, Bulgari, New Manicheans, New Arians, Vaudois, and many other appellations. Pope Innocent III commissioned several ecclesiastics to preach against the Albigenses of Languedoc who were openly protected by Raymond VI, count of Toulouse. Alanus, a cistertian monk, wrote two books against them in the year 1212. Peter de Vaux Cernai has left a history of them. William de Pui Laurent gives an account of them in his chronicle. All these writers, who were not only contemporary but ocular witnesses of what they relate, and Roger de Hoveden, ascribe the following impious and seditious errors to the Albigenses in general: "That there are two Gods, and two first principles; one good, the other bad. That there were two Christs, the one good, the other bad. They united with the other heretics in subverting the hierarchy, by condemning the priesthood, and denying the necessity of ordination; they despised the Old Testament as the work of the devil. They ridiculed the resurrection of the flesh, and maintained that the soul of

⁵ Review &c. by a Roman Catholic clergyman, London, 1793.

each person was a devil or fallen angel in a state of punishment for his pride, who would return to heaven, after having done penance in seven different terrestrial bodies. They thought it an act of religion to burn the images of the cross and destroy altars and churches, and to defile them by converting them into receptacles for the unhappy votaries of Venus. They condemned all the sacraments, and considered infant baptism in particular as a vain superstitious ceremony. They blasphemed against the dignity and purity of the blessed virgin, by denying the divine maternity ; and outraged Jesus Christ himself, sometimes denying his divinity, at other times his humanity, and even his sanctity ; they held marriage to be unlawful without considering chastity as a virtue. They were divided into two classes, the *perfect* and the *believers*. The former boasted of their continency and abstemiousness ; the others were shamefully irregular, and declared their firm assurance of salvation by the faith of the perfect, and their assurance that none of those who received the imposition of their perfect hands would be damned. Such were the execrable tenets of the Albigenses, which they propagated like Mahomet, by plunder, rapine, fire, and sword. The blasphemies, seditions, and tumults, of these sects were encouraged by the counts of Foix and Comminges, by the viscount of Bearne, and other feudatory lords ; but principally by count Ray-

mond of Toulouse who held his domains by investiture from the crown of France."

These are the characters with which the persecutors seek to brand the victims of their cruelty, and on account of which they would represent themselves as the champions of truth, of purity, and of social order. But there is one other character, with which the God of truth has branded every liar, and that is self-contradiction. It is impossible to escape it; no tale of falsehood can be so artfully framed, as not to contain within itself its own confutation. This is manifestly the case with the stories fabricated respecting the Albigenses. The catholics had persecuted and destroyed them; they had also destroyed all their documents, and rendered it utterly impossible for them to speak in their own defence. They had excommunicated and dethroned the rulers under whose government they had enjoyed protection, freedom, and happiness; but though they had done all this, they could not give a consistent justification of their proceedings. The Albigenses were, they say, the most detestable of heretics,—licentious and seditious; they propagated their execrable tenets by fire and sword, rapine and plunder; they burned the crosses, destroyed the altars and churches, and desecrated the latter by converting them into brothels. Yet their lawful sovereigns, the counts of Toulouse, of Foix, and Cominges, and the viscount of

Béarne, against whom all these deeds of sedition and violence must have been committed, are represented as not only enduring, but protecting, such miscreants ; and when the Roman church, in its great goodness, offered to purge the land of these pollutions, they became such advocates of plunder, rapine, fire, sword, blasphemy, and sedition, as not only to make common cause with their subjects, but to endure in their defence every calamity which their enemies could inflict.

Supposing, however, that the Albigenses had been all that the catholic writers represent, upon what ground could the Roman church make a war of extermination against them ? The sovereigns of those countries did not seek her aid to suppress the seditions of their subjects, nor even to regulate their faith. The interference was not only without their authority, but absolutely against their consent, and was resisted by them in a war of twenty years continuance. If they refer to the authority of the king of France, as liege lord, he had not, in that capacity, the right of interference with the internal affairs of his feudatories ; and, as will appear from the following history, he had, in fact, no share in these transactions, any farther than to come in at the close of the contest, and reap the fruits of the victory. We are therefore from every point brought to the same conclusion—that *the church claims a divine right to extirpate heresy and exterminate*

heretics, with or without the consent of the sovereigns in whose dominions they may be found.

The author of the following history observes, p. 6, that “the most ancient historian of the persecution affirms, that Toulouse, whose name, says he, ought rather to have been *Tota dolosa*, had been scarcely ever exempt, even from its first foundation, from that pest of heresy which the fathers transmitted to their children,” and that “their opinions had been transmitted, in Gaul, from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity.” That is, in other words—that the pure and original principles of Christianity had been handed down in Gaul, from the first planting of that religion there—that the people had, as far as their opportunities would allow, resisted the usurpations and corruptions of the church of Rome—and that the Albigenses were the inheritors of those principles, mingled doubtless with various errors, which their slender means of true religious instruction would not allow them to escape.⁴

⁴ The means of religious instruction must, in the early ages of the church, have been very different from what they are in the present. Those churches which used the Greek language, though they had the New Testament scriptures in their original tongue, were still, on account of the great difficulty of procuring manuscripts, able to derive scarcely any advantage from them, except what arose from the public readings in the church. To the Latin Christians, the difficulty was increased by the inferiority of the Latin versions; and when this ceased to be a living language, the people must have been in a state of still greater destitution with regard to scriptural knowledge. As this increased, the corruptions of the church increased in like propor-

The corruptions of Christianity did not arrive at that height to which they finally attained on the full establishment of the church of Rome, but by slow and gradual steps, and even sometimes by the abuse of what, in its origin and intention, was wise and good. They originated chiefly with the episcopal order. That order became, in the age which immediately followed that of the apostles, to a great degree the depositary, as well as the interpreter, of Christian truth, and the regulator of Christian practice. But there was a constant tendency in the bishops to magnify their office and extend their authority. This tendency belongs to human nature, and its effects were especially foretold, on various occasions, by the apostle Paul.⁵ Every innovation in

tion, and when recourse was had to translations into the vulgar tongues, to the difficulty of procuring these was added that of procuring sound and valuable instruction from the regular teachers. It is not therefore a matter of surprise, that heresies should have existed, of various degrees of extravagance, and yet there is abundant testimony, that the sound principles of scriptural truth generally prevailed.

⁵ Paul says to the elders or bishops of the church at Ephesus, Acts xx, 29, “For I know this, that *after my departing* shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also *of your own selves* shall men arise speaking perverse things, &c.....therefore watch—and remember that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one, night and day, with tears.” And in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, ch. ii, v. 5, having foretold the rise of the man of sin, he adds, “Remember ye not that when I was yet with you I told you these things? And now you know what withholdeth....for the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth will let until he be taken out of the way.” From a comparison of these two passages it seems probable, that the mystery of iniquity was the tendency to selfishness and pride which appeared among the Christian teachers, against which the apostle struggled at Ephesus, at Corinth,

doctrine, or discipline, or ceremonies, was invariably made to bear on this point. The doctrines taught in the second and third centuries, respecting the nature and indispensable necessity of baptism and the eucharist—the secrecy adopted with regard to what were called the Christian mysteries—the effects of excommunication—the right asserted by the councils to determine articles of faith and to condemn heresies—the power of ordination and deposition claimed by the bishops—all tended to increase the power of the episcopal order and to give it an influence scarcely to be conceived of in modern times, and especially amongst protestants.

Whilst, however, this general effort was making by the episcopal body towards the attainment of antichristian authority, another power was arising within itself which was destined to complete the “mystery of iniquity.” The rich and the great always rise to supremacy both in the world and the church, and the bishops of Rome had abundant opportunity for the attainment and exercise of both these qualities. With a steady and undeviating purpose they pursued their object of becoming the head of the christian body.

and other churches—that he checked its progress during his own life, but foresaw that upon his removal, it would go on with increasing vigour till it should terminate in the full establishment of the man of sin, whom he also calls the son of perdition. This process may be clearly shewn, from the time of Ignatius, to the pontificate of Gregory VII.

They boldly advanced the most unfounded claims, encouraged and invited all appeals to themselves, arrogantly interfered in all disputes, asserted the right of excommunication, expended their wealth and exerted their influence, till, after a lapse of ages and various political revolutions which they, with consummate policy, turned to their own advantage, the see of Rome attained to a universal and nearly undisputed authority. And such is the mighty influence of long established prejudices and habits, that the greater part of the christian world does still, in some form or other, yield obedience to its despotic sway. Against these usurpations the christians in Gaul made, as appears from various indications in history, a long continued struggle. They were at different times assisted by eminent men⁶ in their opposition to the Romish innovations; but when the pope had obtained the victory over the episcopal order, the people were obliged to continue the contest alone, and, under the names of various heresies, given them by their enemies, to maintain their christian liberty and the purity of the christian profession. The Waldenses and Albigenses have become celebrated by the boldness of their resistance, and the extent of their sufferings. The persecutions which they endured scat-

⁶ See the account of Irenæus, Hilary, Vigilantius, and others in the second to the tenth chapters of Allix's History of the ancient churches of the Albigenses; in which the opposition to the bishop of Rome is traced from the 2nd century to the 10th.

tered the light of truth more extensively amongst the nations. The reformers of the sixteenth century maintained their cause under happier auspices; and protestants, freed by their exertions from spiritual bondage, are able now to look back upon those long protracted combats, to which, under God, they owe their present peace and security, and apportion to each of the parties its merited reward.

To fill up and verify this rapid sketch would embody all the principal circumstances of ecclesiastical history; whilst the object of the present essay is only to give such a view of the origin and character of the Albigenses, as may serve for an introduction to the following history. These have been the subject of many and voluminous controversies, the result of which is summed up by Venema, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, t. vi, § 115—126, with so much erudition, judgment, and candour, that it seems impossible to give the reader a juster view of the connexion between the Waldenses and Albigenses, their antiquity and opinions, than by a translation of that portion of Venema's history which refers to these sects. The passage is as follows:—

Concerning the WALDENSES we may consult, amongst the ancient writers,⁷ although their bitterest enemies: 1. *Bernard*, Abbot of Clair-Vaux of the Præmonstratensian order, a writer of this age, who exhibits the heads of the disputations between Bernard, the archbishop of

⁷ These were edited by Gretzer, and published in the Bibl. Patrum.

Narbonne, and the Waldenses, in the year 1195. Gretzer edited, together with Ebrard a Fleming, and Ermengard, both unknown authors, a work against the Waldenses, which is contained in the 24th vol. of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, but from which little can be learned. 2. *Reinier*, a monk of Placentia; first a leader of the sect, but who having deserted them was attached to the class of preachers, and became inquisitor-general in the 13th century. There is still extant a book of his against the Waldenses. Reinier's prolix account of the sentiments of the Waldenses, was recited 300 years after, in the catalogue of the witnesses of the truth, book xv, where also are exhibited other things pertaining to this subject from the history of Bohemia by *Æneas Silvias*, and from the collections concerning the city of Toulouse by James de Riberea.⁸ 3. *Peter Pilichdorf* in the 15th century, who wrote against the errors of the Waldenses, and against the *poor men of Lyons*. 4. The book of the judgments of the inquisition at Toulouse, published by Limborch, in his history of the inquisition. But besides these documents transmitted by their adversaries, there are others to be compared with them, and much more worthy of credit, from the Waldenses themselves; and also confessions, catechisms, dialogues, and other tracts in Leger's history of the Waldenses, book i: to which may be added the confessions both of the Waldenses and Albigenses, given by Flacius Illyricus in the 15th vol. of the *Catalogus testium veritatis*,—by the Centuriatores Magdeburgenses, centur. xii,—by B. Pictetus, in the continuation of Suerus Sec. ii, who recites the most ancient of all, composed in the year 1100. Bossuet indeed, in his History of the Variations, &c., contends that these monuments are not genuine; but they are vindicated by Leger, and by Basnage in his *Hist. Eccl.* tom. ii. Their antiquity is also confirmed by the language, and the immemorial tradition of the Waldenses, though it must be confessed that they are not all equal in that respect. Of the modern writers, besides Leger, Perrin, and Peter Gillis, amongst the protestants are to be consulted Usher de successione Ecclesiæ &c. and Limborch in the history of the inquisition, l. i, c. 8.

⁸ The work of Reinier was more fully edited by Gretzer, and republished in the 25th volume of the *Biblioth. Patrum*.

And, amongst the Roman Catholics, Thuanus Hist. l. v, a. 1550, Bossuet Histoire des variations &c., Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccles. hujus seculi, and others.

They bore various names, some derived from their teachers, some from their manner of life, some from the places where they dwelt, some from the fate they suffered, and some from the good pleasure of their neighbours: all these it would be too long and tedious to recapitulate. That I may just notice that of Waldenses, and some others by which they are principally known, I will, however, observe that they are considered to have been called so from Peter Valdo or Waldo, who is said to be either the founder or the principal promoter of the sect. Waldo was a citizen and rich merchant of Lyons who flourished in the middle of the 12th century about the year 1160. Whilst several of the principal citizens, among whom was Waldo, were conversing together, and one of them was struck with death before their eyes, he is said to have been so impressed with a sense of human frailty and of the divine wrath, that he renounced the world from that moment and gave himself up entirely to meditation upon the word of God, and to the propagation of piety. He first began with his own family, and then as his fame increased admitted and instructed others, and also translated the scriptures into the vernacular language of Gaul. That he was not destitute of erudition, as some maintain, Flacius Illyricus asserts from evidence derived from ancient writings. The clergy of Lyons, when these proceedings came to their knowledge, opposed, and prohibited his domestic instructions; but so far was this from proving an obstacle, that he inquired the more diligently into the opinions of the clergy, and into religious rites and customs, and opposed them the more openly and ardently. Since he taught for four or five years at Lyons, and made many disciples, some think they were from him called Waldenses; but others suppose that the name was derived from Christians of his sect, who had from ancient times inhabited the vallies of Piedmont. The vallies are called *Vaux*, whence *Vaudois*; and Peter is said to have borne the name of Waldo because he was a follower of that sect. That the name was used before his time appears from this, that it is found in a confession brought to light by Pictetus. The

other names, either proper to them, or common to them with the Albigenses, are principally the following. Leonistæ, or poor men of Lyons ; this was given them from the place where they arose, and from the life of poverty which, in the beginning from their dependence on charity and various vexations, they were obliged to lead. As to what respects the name of *Sabbatatorum*, this came from their wooden shoes, which in the Gallic tongue were called *Sabots*.⁹ They are considered to have been called Patarini, on account of their sufferings, but more justly because they were esteemed heretics ; and in a former century the Mediolani were so called who urged the celibacy of the clergy, from whom it was transferred to any other heretics. The same sort of derivation may be given to the epithet Cathari, but those of Picards, Lombards, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Albigenses, were given from the countries in which they dwelt. Finally they were principally called Turpelini or Turelupini in Flanders and Artois, because of the many miseries to which they were exposed, according to a proverb used in that country, by which children whose fate was unfortunate, were called Turelupins from one Turelupin the father of some children who perished miserably.¹ But it may be well to consult Mosheim, who, in his history of the 13th century, contends that the Turlupini were the same as *the brethren of the free spirit*, fanatics and mystics, and imbued with the errors of the Pantheists.

I shall enumerate, from the monuments above cited, the chief articles of this heresy, before I shew its origin and fate ; they were the following : 1. That the holy Scriptures are the only source of faith and religion, without regard to the authority of the Fathers and of tradition ; and although they principally used the New Testament yet as Usher proves from Reinier and others, they regarded the Old also as canonical Scripture. From their greater use of the New Testament however their adversaries took occasion to charge them with despising the Old. 2. They held the entire faith, according to all the articles of the apostles' creed. 3. They rejected all the external rites of the dominant church, excepting baptism and the Lord's supper, as temples, vestures,

⁹ See Du Cange Gloss. Lat. *Medii aevi in voce*.

¹ Vide Beausobre de Adamitis p. 2.

images, crosses, the religious worship of the holy relics, and the remaining sacraments ; these they considered as inventions of satan and of the flesh, and full of superstition. 4. They rejected purgatory, with masses and prayers for the dead, acknowledging only two terminations of the present state, heaven and hell. 5. They admitted no indulgences nor confessions of sin with any of their consequences, excepting mutual confessions of the faithful for instruction and consolation. 6. They held the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist only as signs, denying the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist ; as we find in the book of this sect concerning antichrist, and as Ebrard de Bethunia accuses them in his book *antihæresios*. 7. They held only three ecclesiastical orders, bishops, priests, and deacons, and that the remainder were human figments ; that monasticism was a putrid carcase, and vows the inventions of men ; and that the marriage of the clergy was lawful and necessary. According to Reinier they had three or four orders. First the bishop, who had under him two presbyters, one the elder son the other the younger, who visited the faithful submitted to the bishop, and one deacon. 8. Finally, they asserted the Roman church to be the whore of Babylon, and denied obedience to the pope or bishops, and that the pope had any authority over other churches, or the power of either the civil or ecclesiastical sword.

Besides these articles, others are attributed to them, though not without controversy, since by some they are denied. 1. Reinier and the inquisition of Toulouse relate, that they reprobated judges and magistrates with all judgments against criminals ; but that this can refer only to capital punishments, is clear from the testimonies themselves. Besides their ancient confessions of faith testify that they did not deny obedience to magistrates. But as in Perrin's *Light and Treasure of Faith* they do not absolutely condemn capital punishments, it is doubtful how long they had condemned them, and whether this was the opinion of all the Waldenses, or at all times. 2. Nor, as is imputed to them, did they reject infant-baptism, but only held it a thing not necessary as appears from Reinier himself, who only charges them with holding that the baptism of infants was useless.

It appears also from their *Spiritual Calendar*, that infants were by them washed in the sacred font. But as their pastors were frequently absent, they rather chose to omit baptism than to commit their children to the priests, esteeming paedobaptism not of so much necessity; whence might easily arise the suspicion that they rejected the baptism of infants. 3. Reinier asserts that they refused to take even lawful oaths, but he adds that this properly relates only to the *perfect*, who rather chose death than to take an oath; to the others therefore swearing was not prohibited. The Waldenses also testify in their *Spiritual Calendar*, that oaths were esteemed lawful amongst them.

In relating the rise and progress of this sect, regard must be had to the singular testimony of Reinier, in which he affirms this sect to be more pernicious than all the rest for three reasons. 1. Because it is more ancient and of longer standing; adding that some have traced it to the time of Silvester in the 4th century, and others to the times of the apostles. Reinier in summing up, towards the end of his work, gives it as their opinion, "that the church of Christ," these are his own words, "remained with the bishops and other prelates until B. Silvester, and then fell off until they restored it: however they affirm that there were always some who feared God and were saved." 2. Because it is more general; "For indeed," says he, "there is scarcely any country where this sect is not found." 3. Because it has a pure faith in God, and in the articles of the creed, and a great appearance of piety. This testimony proceeding from their adversary, who lived not far from their times, in the middle of the 13th century, is agreeable to truth, and worthy of observation. Some of the pontiffs have accused them of various lusts, and other crimes, but this has been done merely from calumny, and according to their accustomed method of charging those who withdraw from their communion with licentiousness as the cause of that separation; and this the more foolishly, because as every kind of licentiousness abounded in the pontifical society, there was not the least cause for withdrawing on this account. Neither the inquisition of Toulouse, nor Reinier have any charges of this kind against the Waldenses, but, as we have seen, quite the contrary.

The anonymous author, who wrote a treatise concerning the heresy of the poor of Lyons,² openly says, “as to what is affirmed of them, that they kiss cats and rats, and see the devil; or that having extinguished the lights, they commit promiscuous fornication; I do not think it belongs to this sect, because the Cathari are said to do this, nor have I learned any of these things in such a way as that I could believe them.” That the testimony given respecting their antiquity and increase, is perfectly just, will appear from the history of their rise and progress which I am about to relate.

Concerning the antiquity of this sect, although the testimony of Reinier is sufficient of itself, there are not wanting other documents. That there were persons of this sect before the time of Waldo, is clear from the ancient treatise concerning Antichrist against the Romanists, an. 1120, published by Perrin, in his history of the Waldenses; and also from an epistle of a certain provost, named Steneld, to Bernard, written before the death of Waldo, a fragment of which is exhibited by Usher from Driedo; where it is related, amongst other things, that some of these men were seized by the excessive zeal of the populace, and thrown into the fire, and that they bore the torment not only with patience but joy. They are also described as persons “who do not trust in the intercessions of the dead, or the prayers of the saints, and who maintain that fasts and other afflictions which are practised on account of sin, are not necessary for the righteous; and who do not allow the fire of purgatory after death; nor believe that the body of Christ is present on the altar; and who affirm that the church of Christ is with them, though destitute of lands and possessions.” That the sect is more ancient than Waldo, is proved by Harenberg in *Otiis sacris observ.* 10, from Bernard de Clairvaux; but it cannot with certainty be affirmed, how great that antiquity is. Some writers, quoted by Usher, refer them to the times of Berengarius, others, as Leger l. i, c. 11, to Claude of Turin, who under Louis the pious, opposed himself to images, and the dominion of the popes. To these times belong also some pious meditations on particular psalms,

² See Martini Thesaurum Novum, vol. 5.

breathing a spirit of purity and sound doctrine, and agreeing with the state of a separated church. These appear in Biblioth. Bremen. l. ii. From that time, it is asserted that persons of this description resided, and were concealed, in the Rhetian and Cottian Alps, and in the vallies of those mountains, who were thence called Waldenses, as I have mentioned above.

The progress of this sect was rapid and extensive, since Reinier testifies, that in his time there was no country free from them. He gives (c. 3,) the following causes of their increase. 1. Vain-glory, they wishing to be honored like the catholic doctors. 2. Their great zeal, since all of them, men and women, by night and by day, never cease from teaching and learning. He adds what I would wish to be particularly noticed, that, amongst their first instructions, they taught their disciples to shun slanders and oaths. 3. Because they translated the old and new testament into the vulgar tongues, and spake and taught according to them. He adds, "I have heard and seen a certain unlearned rustic, who recited the book of Job, word by word, and many who perfectly knew the New Testament." 4. Because they communicated their instruction in secret places and times, nor permitted any to be present except believers. 5. The scandal arising from the bad example of certain catholics. 6. The insufficient teaching of others, who preach sometimes frivolously and sometimes falsely. "Hence, whatever a doctor of the church teaches," says he, "which he does not prove from the New Testament, they consider it as entirely fabulous, contrary to the authority of the church." 7. The want of reverence with which certain ministers perform the sacraments. 8. The hatred which they have against the church. "I have heard," he proceeds, "from the mouth of the heretics, that they intended to reduce the clergy and the monks to the state of labourers, by taking away their tithes and possessions." He afterwards adds, that in all the cities of Lombardy, and in Provence, and in other kingdoms and nations, there were more schools of heretics than of theologians, and more auditors. They disputed publicly, and summoned the people to those solemn disputations; besides preaching in the markets, the fields, and the houses, &c. "I was frequently present," he adds,

"at the inquisition and examination of the heretics, and their schools are reckoned in the diocese of Pavia to amount to forty-one." He reckons up also the churches belonging to the heretics. Having enumerated the errors of the Albigensian Manicheans, the author of the great Belgian chronicle from Caesarius, A. D. 1208, thus proceeds. "The error of the Albigenses prevailed to that degree, that it had infested as much as a thousand cities, and if it had not been repressed by the swords of the faithful, I think that it would have corrupted the whole of Europe." It happened indeed that when the Waldenses were persecuted and banished by the archbishop of Lyons, and Waldo and his companions fled to other regions, from that time they were scattered through Gaul, Italy, Germany, England, and Spain. Some fixed themselves in Narbonne Gaul, which contains the provinces of Provence, Dauphiny, and Savoy; others fled to the Alps and settled colonies in Piedmont and Lombardy.³ Peter Valdo, having left his country, came to Belgium, and in Picardy, as it is now called, obtained many followers; he afterwards passed into Germany, and having long journeyed through the cities of the Vandals, at last settled in Bohemia. This is confirmed by Dubravius in his history of Bohemia, who relates that he arrived there about 1184. The Waldenses themselves, in a conference with the Bohemians, declared that they had been dispersed through Lombardy, Calabria, Germany, Bohemia, and other regions, ever since the year 1160. To this belongs a report that about that time two devils entered Bohemia in human form, teaching believers to go naked and sin with impunity, whence arose, in the 15th century, the calumny of the nakedness of the Picards.⁴ The author of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, lib. xv, declares that he was in possession of the consultation of the civilians of Avignon, of the archbishops of Narbonne, of Arles, and of Aix; together with the order of the bishop of Alby for the extirpation of the Waldenses, written 340 years before. At the conclusion of these consultations, it is said, "that it was

³ See Usher, *in loc. cit.* and also Thuanus.

⁴ See Beausobre, *De Adamitis*, at the end of *L'Enfant's History of the Hussite War*; where he demonstrates that the Waldenses had penetrated into Bohemia in that century.

known to every one that the condemnation of the Waldensian heretics, many years since, was as just as it was public and celebrated."

The ALBIGENSES were so called from the province of Albi and Toulouse, where they principally inhabited. Albia or Albiga, now Albi, a city in the country of Cahors, belonging to Toulouse, formerly joined to the greater Aquitaine, a principal part of Narbonne Gaul, at that time bore the name of Albigesii, whence the Gallic heretics were called by the general name of Albigenses. They were dispersed through all that tract of Narbonne Gaul, and through the dioceses of Albi, Quercy, Sens, Rhodez, and the neighbourhood. But the learned are not agreed as to what sect or description they were of. The Roman catholic writers, not the recent only, but also the ancient, those of the 13th century, (as Peter de Vaux-Cernai, a Cistertian monk, in a history of the Albigenses dedicated to Innocent III; Cæsar of Heistirbach, in a dialogue concerning miracles; and the Acts of the inquisition at Toulouse, by Limborch,) paint these men in the blackest colours, as not only Manicheans but of the worst lives and manners. They relate for example that they held as to doctrine, "that there were two Gods and Lords, one good, the father of Christ, the author of invisible and incorruptible things, the other malignant, the author of what is visible and corporeal, the one the author of the Old Testament, the other of the New, so that the former was to be rejected except a few things which were transferred to the New. 2. That Christ took flesh, not really but only in appearance, so that he was not born of a woman, and that Mary, our Lord's mother, was no other than his church, which obeys the commandments of the father. 3. That there was no resurrection of the body, but that the bodies would be spiritual. 4. That human souls were spirits, who fell from heaven on account of their sins.

As to what belongs to their rites and institutes, 1. They not only in common with the Waldenses rejected the sacraments of the church of Rome, and all other ecclesiastical rites, but also baptism and the eucharist, having only retained the imposition of hands. They also called the cross, the detestable sign of the devil. 2. They rejected the orders of the Roman church, denying

to them, as sinners, all power of binding and loosing. 3. They were distinguished into two kinds; one of which was called the *perfect* or comforted, who professed openly their faith and religion, amongst whom they had what they denominated magistrates, deacons, and bishops. The *perfect* were specially named *good men*.⁵ Others, indeed, made a compact with these, which they termed *la convenensa*, a convention, that they wished to be received at the end of life into their sect. Their reception, called *hæreticatio*, was conducted in this manner; the perfect held the hands of him who was to be received, between his own, and over him a certain book, from which he read the gospel of John, "In the beginning was the word," as far as, "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."⁶ He handed to him, besides, a slender band, with which he was to be girded as a heretic. There was some difference respecting the reception of women, but of small moment. This reception however, for which they were prepared by certain abstinences, was thought to confer salvation, and therefore was called consolation, and even spiritual baptism; and was generally deferred to the close of life, and was conferred on the sick, to whom, that they might not return to health, it was prescribed to put themselves into *endura* or abstinence, in order to accelerate their death, for which purpose bathing and blood-letting were also used. They who refused this oppressive law, still abstained from all intercourse with men, and even with their wives, lest they should relapse. 4. They rejected matrimony as sensual and unlawful, substituting in its stead a spiritual union. 5. I omit the licentiousness and vices of every kind with which they were charged.

If these are their true colours, and this their true description, they must have approached near to the Manicheans, and the writers of the 13th century do certainly make a wide distinction between them and the Waldenses. Peter, the monk of Vaux-Cernai, lately cited, says, expressly, that they differed widely from the Waldenses, who were not so bad, since in many things they agreed with the Roman church, and differed from it only in a

⁵ Concerning these, see Cl. Joecher, Professor at Leipsic, in his Progr. *De Bonis Hominibus*, at the end of Schmidii Hist. Eccles. p. 3.

⁶ See also, respecting this rite, Ermengardus contra Vallenses, c. xiv.

few ; and of whom he thus speaks ; “ To omit many articles of their unbelief, their error consisted principally in four—the wearing of sandals, in imitation of the apostles—the rejection of swearing, and capital punishments, on any occasion—but chiefly in asserting, that any of their body might, if they wore sandals, though they had not received episcopal ordination, make the body of Christ.” Reinier, also, and the inquisition of Toulouse, distinguish between the Albigenses and the Waldenses. Bossuet also follows their footsteps in his History of Variations &c. l. ii. remarking that the Waldenses agreed with the catholics in the principal points, and were therefore only schismatics. But what have the protestants to do with this? Because the opinion has been generally spread that the Albigenses and Waldenses were the same, and that the charges of Manicheism, Arianism, &c. which have been made against them are pure calumnies. Leger, in his history of the Waldenses, l. i. c. 19, has endeavoured to free them from this imputation, and though his testimonies more particularly apply to the Waldenses, yet he has shown that many of the Albigenses were the same. See also the author of the book entitled *La Condemnation de Babilone*, against Bossuet, where he treats of the Waldenses and of their antiquity, and vindicates the purity both of them and the Albigenses in faith and manners. But from this decision Limborch dissents, arguing that the Albigenses cannot be acquitted of Manicheism. Others take a middle course, as Spanheim, and Basnage in his ecclesiastical history, and more at large in the history of the reformed churches, in which he has inserted copious extracts from the acts of the inquisition at Toulouse. Both these writers allow that there were Manicheans and Arians amongst the Albigenses, who had come from the east into these and other western countries ; but they maintain, that much the greater number of them were pure, though confounded by the Roman writers.

I should not however attempt to deny, that there were Manicheans spread through these regions in considerable numbers, and that they were marked by the name of Albigenses, concerning which see Usher and Limborch in the places before cited. I also admit that in this and the following century, the Albigenses and Waldenses

were currently so distinguished, as that the former were considered to have, if not the grosser, yet a more subtle form of Manicheism, so far at least as to speak of the devil as another God of this world ; they also esteemed the flesh as the seat of sin, so as to abstain from all commerce with it, as I have before shewn, and as Limborch proves. But I have not the least doubt that those who were truly Waldenses were also called Albigenses ; for example, Peter de Vaux-Cernai says, "that all the heretics of Narbonne Gaul were called Albigenses, and the least guilty amongst these were the Waldenses." William de Podio Laurentii, in the chronicles of the Albigenses, distinguishes them as Arians, Manicheans, and Waldenses ; which Benedict proves in his history of the Albigenses, from an epistle of the king of Aragon. Bertrand also, a lawyer of Toulouse, in his book *de Gestis Tolosanorum*, clears from Manicheism the count of Toulouse, the patron of the Albigenses.⁷ Finally, since the Albigenses, both of the pure, and those of a Manichean faith, had this in common, that they ardently opposed the external rites of the church, the dominion of the church, and the papal see, it could scarcely be otherwise, but that they should all be included as Manicheans without distinction, in order to afford a better pretext for persecution, and that they might be exposed to universal odium ; as history indeed has exhibited to the eyes of all ages, our own not excepted, that it was against such heretics alone that these deeds were perpetrated.

These heretics were condemned at a council held at Lombez in Gascony under the bishop of Toulouse in 1175, by the name of *Good Men*, to whom the following errors are imputed. 1. That the Old Testament was of no authority. 2. That a confession of faith was not necessary. 3. That infants are not saved by baptism. 4. That the eucharist may be consecrated by laymen. 5. That matrimony was unlawful and not consistent with salvation. 6. That the priests have not alone received the power of binding and loosing. But at the same time there is extant, inserted in the acts, a confession of their faith directly opposed to these errors, to which they add that they are ready to acknowledge whatever can be

⁷ See Usher, *De Success. Eccles. &c. c. x.* also Basnage, *in loc. cit.*

shewn to them *from the gospels and the writings of the apostles*, to their conviction; but they refused to take any oath as it was forbidden by both. See Hoveden, Annal. p. 2, who improperly stigmatises them as Arians. At this council they were condemned and expelled. The same was done in a synod at Toulouse, 1178, under the presidency of a legate of the holy see, as the same Hoveden testifies. They were also proscribed by the third council of Lateran in 1179, as we have related in the history of Alexander III, which sentence was confirmed by Lucius III, as related by Bernard Abbot of Clair-Vaux in the preface to a treatise against this heresy, who adds that they were summoned by Bernard to a disputation at Narbonne, after which they were condemned."

After the ample testimonies which have been adduced respecting these ancient heretics, chiefly from their persecutors, it will be sufficient to add a few brief and concluding observations.

1. That it is an undisputed fact, that sects, under the name of Waldenses, who opposed the authority of the church of Rome, are of very high antiquity; and that the catholic writers themselves allow this, without imputing to them any material errors in doctrine or practice.

2. That the Albigenses, or inhabitants of Languedoc, were, many of them at least, of the same description as the Waldenses, though their enemies charge others of them with being atrocious heretics, and men of abandoned morals.

3. That the persecutors nevertheless destroyed them all indiscriminately, depriving them of all power of defending their characters; and had, therefore, every temptation and every opportunity for calumniating them.

4. That the Waldenses who inhabited the valleys of Piedmont, remained exempt from persecution for nearly two hundred years longer, and were thus able to transmit to posterity monuments for their own vindication.

5. That the supposed superior orthodoxy of the Waldenses, properly so called, did not preserve them from like persecutions, at the instigation of the church of Rome.

Finally, That we are, therefore, warranted in affirming, that the Albigenses were men who had received their christian principles from the first planting of that religion in Gaul ; and that the great cause of their sufferings was not so much their heretical principles as their opposition to the usurpations and corruptions of the Romish church.

Notwithstanding the melancholy termination of this history, the reader can scarcely close the volume without a sentiment of exultation, when he considers how powerless are all the attempts of bigotry and persecution to impede the progress of knowledge, and prevent the final triumph of truth. The crusades against the Albigenses, and even the establishment of the tribunal of the inquisition, could not hinder the ultimate spread of their principles through the old and new world. The inhabitants of these countries, the descendants of the persecuted Albigenses, have, in this our day, witnessed the downfal of that

arbitrary monarchy which had so long crushed them to the dust, and the humiliation of that church which had so often compelled them to drink, to the very dregs, the cup of human misery. The cause of toleration—the cause in which they suffered unto death—has been ever since making a steady and resistless progress. The protestant nations have, with few exceptions, acknowledged it as their foundation principle. Many members of the Roman catholic church, and especially those who inhabit these realms, have become its public advocates. In France, the theatre of former persecutions, the protestant religion is, under its influence, recognized by the fundamental laws of the state. In the east, it waves its banner over all the nations of India. In the west, it has established in America a bulwark for universal liberty, and an asylum for the persecuted of every country. England has incorporated it with her civil rights, and it forms an immovable basis for the British throne. She withholds the full effects of it from the catholics, only till their church has publicly recognized its sacred principles. It has spread the triumphs of religion and liberty through the islands of the pacific ocean ; and is fast gaining an establishment amongst the liberated nations of South America. There is but one more battle to be fought, and one more victory to be won, before its triumphs shall be universal. It still remains to wrest from the reluctant grasp

of the Roman church the thunderbolt of divine vengeance against heresy: and when she shall have been compelled, by the irresistible force of public opinion, to recognize, by an authentic and irrevocable act, the rights of conscience, the world will be free.

JUNE 9TH, 1826.

HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

CHAP. I.

First Crusade, from 1207 to 1209.

FRANCE, during the feudal period, instead of forming an entire monarchy, was submitted to the influence of four kings; to each of whom a number of grand vassals were subordinate: so that the North of France might be considered as Walloon, a name afterwards confined to the French Flemings, and which was then given to the language spoken by Philip Augustus; towards the West was an English France; to the East a German France; and in the South, a Spanish or Aragonese France. Till the reign of Philip Augustus, the first division possessed the least of extent, of riches, or of power. That monarch, by a concourse of fortunate circumstances rather than by his talents, greatly exalted the splendour of his crown, and extended his dominion over a part

of France much more important than his own inheritance. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the division which has been indicated did, however, still exist. He had conquered more than half of the English France, but Aquitaine still belonged to England. The Germanic France had still the same limits ; except that, of the three kingdoms of which it was composed, those of Lorraine and Burgundy had more intimately than formerly united themselves with the Empire, so that their history was no longer mingled with that of France. On the contrary, the kingdom of Provence had so much relaxed its connexion with the imperial crown, that its great vassals might be considered absolutely independent, and the most powerful of its states, the countship of Provence, possessed by the King of Aragon, might be justly denominated the Aragonese France.

The king of Aragon might, as well as the king of England, be considered a French prince. The greater part of his states, even beyond the Pyrenees and as far as the Ebro, were considered to belong to the ancient monarchy of Charlemagne, and owed homage to the crown of France. Like the king of England, the king of Aragon had acquired, either by marriages, or by grants of fief, or by treaties of protection, dominion over a great number of French lords ; some of whom did homage to the king of France, others to the emperor; but all of whom, nevertheless, rendered

obedience only to the Spanish monarch. The Counts of Bearn, of Armagnac, of Bigorre, of Cominges, of Foix, and of Roussillon, lived under his protection, and served in his armies. The viscounts of Narbonne, of Beziers, and of Carcassonne, regarded him as their count. The lord of Montpellier had submitted to him. The powerful count of Toulouse, surrounded by his states and vassals, maintained, with difficulty, his own independence against him. The countships of Provence and of Forcalquier belonged solely to him, whilst the other vassals of the kingdom of Arles were eager to obtain his protection.

Languedoc, Provence, Catalonia, and all the surrounding countries which depended on the king of Aragon, were peopled by an industrious and intelligent race of men, addicted to commerce and the arts, and still more to poetry. They had formed the provençal language; which, separating itself from the Walloon Roman, or French, was distinguished by more harmonious inflexions, by a richer vocabulary, by expressions more picturesque, and by greater flexibility. This language, studied by all the genius of the age, consecrated to the innumerable songs of war and of love, appeared at that moment destined to become the first and the most elegant of the languages of modern Europe. Those who used it had renounced the name of Frenchmen for that of Provençals; they had endeavoured, by means of their lan-

guage, to form themselves into a nation, and to separate themselves absolutely from the French, to whom they were indeed inferior in the arts of war, but whom they greatly excelled in all the attainments of civilization.

The numerous courts of the small princes amongst whom these countries were divided aspired to be models of taste and politeness. They lived in festivity; their chief occupation was tournaments, courts of love, and of poesy, in which questions of gallantry were gravely decided. The cities were numerous and flourishing. Their forms of government were all nearly republican; they had consuls chosen by the people, and had long possessed the privilege of forming communes, which rendered them nearly equal to the Italian republics with whom they traded.

In the midst of such growing prosperity was this lovely region delivered to the fury of countless hordes of fanatics, its cities ruined, its population consumed by the sword, its commerce destroyed, its arts thrown back into barbarism, and its dialect degraded, from the rank of a poetic language, to the condition of a vulgar jargon. This horrible revolution was not, in its commencement, directed by the French government; but some of its consequences were, that the Provençals ceased to be a nation,—that the influence of the king of Aragon over a large part of the South of France was destroyed,—and that the power of

the kings of France was, at last, extended to the Mediterranean Sea.

The preaching of a first religious reformation amongst the provençals was the occasion of the devastation of this beautiful country. Too early enlightened, proceeding too rapidly in the career of civilization, these people excited the jealousy and hatred of the surrounding barbarians. A struggle began between the lovers of darkness and those of light, between the advocates of despotism and those of liberty. The party that wished to arrest the progress of the human mind had on its side the pernicious skill of its chiefs, the fanaticism of its agents, and the number of its soldiers. It triumphed ; it annihilated its adversaries ; and with such fury did it profit by its victory, that the conquered party was never able to rise again in the same province, or amongst the same race of men.

In the countries which used the Provençal tongue the clergy had been enriched by immense dotations ; but the bishoprics were generally reserved for members of powerful families, who led disorderly lives, whilst the curates and inferior priests, taken from the vassals of the nobility, their peasants and slaves, retained the brutality, the ignorance, and the baseness, of their servile origin. The people of these provinces were too enlightened not to feel contempt for the vices of the ecclesiastics ; and so general was this contempt,

that expressions the most offensive to churchmen were become proverbial. *I would rather be a priest,* said they by imprecation, *than have done such a thing!*¹ Nevertheless, the disposition of the people was towards religion ; and that devotion which they could not find in the church, they sought for amongst the sectaries. These were numerous in the province ; and the most ancient historian of the persecution affirms, that Toulouse, whose name, says he, ought rather to have been *Tota dolosa*, had been scarcely ever exempt, even from its first foundation, from that pest of heresy which the fathers transmitted to their children.²

Those very persons who punished the sectaries with frightful torments have alone taken upon themselves to make us acquainted with their opinions ; allowing, at the same time, that they had been transmitted in Gaul from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity. We cannot, therefore, be astonished if they have represented them to us with all those characters which might render them the most monstrous, mingled with all the fables which would serve to irritate the minds of the people against those who professed them. Nevertheless, amidst many puerile or calumnious tales, it is still easy to recognize

¹ *Prologus Chronicorum de Podio Laurentii*, p. 666. In *Duchesne Script. Franc.* tom. v. *Histoire de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, ch. ii, p. 129.

² *Petri Vallis Cernai Hist. Albigens.* cap. 1. apud *Duchesne Script. Franc.* tom. v, p. 555. *Le même; édition Trecensis 1615*, 8vo.

the principles of the reformation of the sixteenth century amongst the heretics who are designated by the name of *Vaudois*, or *Albigeois*. Numerous sects existed at the same time in the province; and this was the necessary consequence of the liberty of inquiry which formed the essence of their doctrine: all agreed, however, in regarding the church of Rome as having absolutely perverted Christianity, and in maintaining that it was she who was designated in the Apocalypse by the name of the *whore of Babylon*. Some, however, who were distinguished by the name of Vaudois, or *Waldenses*, did not differ from her on the points which are the most important, whilst others had given such license to their imaginations as almost to destroy the entire system of revelation. They attributed the Old Testament to the principle of evil; for God was there represented, they said, as a homicide, who destroyed the human race by a deluge, Sodom and Gomorrah by fire, and the Egyptians by the inundation of the Red Sea.³

But, with respect to those who opened the career to the reformers of the sixteenth century, we recognize their teaching by their denial of the real presence in the eucharist. "If the body of Christ," said they, "was as large as our mountains, it must have been destroyed by the number of those whom they pretend to have eaten of it."

³ *Hist. Albigen.* cap. ii, p. 556.

They rejected the sacraments of confirmation, of confession, and marriage, as vain and frivolous; they charged with idolatry the exposure of images in the churches; and they named the bells, which summoned the people to the adoration of these images, trumpets of demons. Their teachers or priests were contented with a black coat, instead of the pompous vestments of the catholic clergy. After they had caused their proselytes to abjure idolatry, they received them into their church by the imposition of hands and the kiss of peace. Whilst their enemies endeavoured to blacken their reputation by charging them with permitting, in their teaching, the most licentious manners, and with practising, in secret, all kinds of disorders, they still allowed that, in appearance, they observed an irreproachable chastity; that, in their abstinence from all animal food, their rigour exceeded that of the severest monks; that, through their regard for truth, they admitted on no occasion any excuse for falsehood; that, in a word, their charity always prepared them to devote themselves to the welfare of others.⁴ Several poems of the Vaudois, written in the twelfth century, and recently published, confirm the resemblance between the doctrine and discipline of the early and later reformers.⁵

⁴ Petri Vallis Cern. Hist. Albig. de diversis hæreticorum sectis, tom. v, 556, 557.

⁵ Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours, tom. ii. La nobla leycaon, lo novel Sermon, &c.

Activity and zeal for proselytism form another relation between the two reformations. Both began at a period when the human mind, eager for instruction, examined all that it had found established ; demanded a reason for all obedience ; and, at the same time that it overturned ancient civil dominations, to establish new ones, it also interrogated the ecclesiastical powers, to ascertain their foundation. The adoption of the reformed opinion did not immediately announce itself as a heresy ; it was, in the eyes of the initiated, only a project of sanctification ; it was an engagement to greater zeal, to severer morals, to higher sacrifices, to a more constant occupation with spiritual things. Since many prelates of the church had given the example of such reform, those who followed them did not consider themselves as going astray ; and Rome herself had sometimes considered the *paterins*, the *catharins*, the *poor of Lyon*, and all those new religious societies, as so many orders of monks who were rousing the fervour of the public, and who never thought of shaking off her yoke.⁶ Innocent III, who, ascended the pontifical throne in the vigour of his age, was the first who appeared to feel the importance of that independent spirit which was already degenerating into revolt. His predecessors, engaged in a perilous struggle with the two Henrys, and Frederic Barbarossa, thought their

⁶ *Muratori Antiq. Ital. Dissert. 60, tom. v, p. 83.*

entire force not too much to defend them against the emperors; and, in those times, had themselves accepted the name of *paterins*, which had been given to their most zealous partisans.⁷ But Innocent III, whose genius at once embraced and governed the universe, was as incapable of temporising as he was of pity. At the same time that he destroyed the political balance of Italy and Germany; that he menaced by turns the kings of Spain, of France, and of England; that he affected the tone of a master with the kings of Bohemia, of Hungary, of Bulgaria, of Norway, and of Armenia; in a word, that he directed or repressed at his will the Crusaders, who were occupied in overturning the Greek empire and in establishing that of the Latins at Constantinople;—Innocent III, as if he had had no other occupation, watched over, attacked, and punished, all opinions different from those of the Roman church, all independence of mind, every exercise of the faculty of thinking in the affairs of religion.⁸

Though it was in the countries where the provençal language was spoken, and especially in Languedoc, that the reformation of the Paterins had made the greatest progress, it had also spread rapidly in other parts of Christendom, in Italy, in

⁷ *Arnulphi Hist. Mediol.* lib. iv, c. xi, p. 39. *Landulphi Senior. Hist. Mediol.* Prolog. 57. In *Muratori Script. Ital.* tom. iv.

⁸ See the immense collection of the letters of Innocent III, in 16 books, of which each contains more than 100 letters: *A Steph. Balusio edit.* 2 vols. in fol. 1682: see also the most important in *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.*

Flanders, in Lorraine,⁹ in Germany, and in Spain. Innocent III, both from character and policy, judged that the church ought to keep no measures with the sectaries ; that, if it did not crush them, if it did not exterminate their race, and strike Christendom with terror, their example would soon be followed, and that the fermentation of mind, which was every where manifest, would shortly produce a conflagration throughout the Roman world. Instead therefore of making converts, he charged his ministers to burn the leaders, to disperse the flocks, and to confiscate the property of every one who would not think as he did. At first, he required of those provinces, where the reformation had made but small progress, to give the example of persecution ; and, in reality, many leaders of the new church perished in the flames at Nevers, in 1198 and the following years.¹ The emperor Otho IV, who regarded himself as a creature of Innocent III, granted him an edict for the destruction of the paterins, called also *Gazari*,² in Italy. But there was a certain number of lords and high barons, who had themselves adopted the new opinions, and who, instead of consent-

⁹ The Albigenses, about the year 1200, made proselytes at Metz ; and circulated there the sacred Scriptures, translated from the Latin into the Roman language. *Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine, tom. ii, liv. xxii, ch. cxxiv, p. 199.*

¹ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, p. 130. Pagi critica ad ann. 1179, § vi, p. 656.*

² *Edictum Ferrarie promulgatum, 1210; apud Muratorii Antiq. Ital. dissert. Ix, p. 89, 90.*

ing to persecute, protected the sectaries. Others saw in them only industrious vassals, whom they could not destroy without affecting their own revenues and power. Innocent III, therefore, sought to arm a present interest, and brutal avarice, against this calculating economy of the barons. He abandoned to them the confiscation of all the heretics' property, and exhorted them to take possession of it, after they had banished those whom they had plundered, and threatened them with death if they returned to their homes. At the same time, Innocent III, laid under an anathema those of the lords who should refuse to seize upon the property of the heretics, and placed their dominions under an interdict.³

The province of Narbonne was more particularly the object of Innocent's attention. In the year 1193, the first of his pontificate, he sent into it two monks of Citeaux, brother Guy and brother Regnier, who may be considered as having laid the foundations of the Inquisition. Their commission was to discover and pursue heresy; being invested, for that purpose, with all the authority of the holy See. The following year the pope named brother Regnier his legate in the four provinces of Embrun, Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, and enjoined upon the four archbishops, and all the bishops, to execute scrupulously

³ *Innocentii III Epistolæ, lib. i, epist. 81, 82, 95, 165. Raynaldi Ann. 1198. § 36, 37, p. 11.*

the orders of this monk. Regnier having fallen sick, Innocent joined to him Peter of Castelhau, archdeacon of Maguelonne, whose zeal, more furious than that of his predecessors, is worthy of those sentiments which the very name of the inquisition inspires.⁴

The mission of the pope's commissaries, or inquisitors, was not however limited to scrutinizing the consciences of the heretics, confiscating their property, banishing, or sending them to the stake; they traversed the province, accompanied by a number of friars, who arrived successively to their aid; they preached and disputed against those who had wandered from the faith; and especially, when the lord of the place favoured the new opinions, not being able to employ force, they had recourse to the power of their disputation. They caused judges of these intellectual combats, to be named, beforehand, and, if we may believe their own relations, they always came off victorious. Accustomed to the subtleties of the schools, they pressed their adversaries with captious questions, or unlooked for conclusions, and not unfrequently led them to absurd declarations. Diego d'Azebez, bishop of Ozma, and his companion St. Dominic, under-prior of his cathedral, who, about the year 1204, fixed themselves in the province, to preach against the heretics, had much success in this kind of disputation; it even appears that

⁴ *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, p. 131.*

sometimes they were out of patience with their antagonists, for being so unskilful.⁵ But when the missionaries had embarrassed their adversaries, or had vanquished them according to all the scholastic rules, then they said to the inhabitants of the places where they had found them, “Why do you not drive them out? Why do you not exterminate them?”—“We cannot,” they replied to the bishop of Ozma; “we have been brought up with them, we have relations amongst them, and we see the goodness of their lives.—“Thus,” says a contemporary writer, “does the spirit of falsehood, only by the appearance of a pure and spotless life, lead away these inconsiderate people from the truth.”⁶

Another cause, it is true, abated the persecution. The inquisitors had, by their arrogance, offended all classes of society, and had raised up against themselves a cloud of enemies. Some bishops they accused of simony, others of negli-

⁵ In a dispute between the bishop of Ozma and some heretics of Verfeuil, he asked them how they should understand the name *Son of Man*, which Jesus always gives himself in St. John, and in particular this passage of St. John iii, 13. “*Also no one hath ascended up into heaven, but he who descended from heaven, that is the Son of Man who is in heaven.*” They answered, that Jesus acknowledged himself as the son of a man who was in heaven. “But,” rejoined the bishop, “the Lord has said in Isaiah, ‘*the heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool.*’ The legs of that man who is in the heaven must then be as long as the distance which separates the heavens from the earth.” “Without doubt,” they replied. “The good God curse you,” said the holy bishop, “stupid heretics as you are. I thought you had more subtlety than that.” *Chronica magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, cap. viii. Duchesne Scr. Franc. tom. v, p. 672.*

⁶ *Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, cap. viii, p. 672.*

gence in the fulfilment of their duties ; and under such pretences deposed the archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishops of Toulouse and Viviers. They offended also all the regular clergy ; and at the same time tormented the count of Toulouse, and all the lords of the country, by accusations continually renewed. Thus they deprived themselves of the means of kindling so many fires as they could have desired. To gain a little popularity, therefore, they took great pains to confound the heretics with the *routiers*, or hireling soldiers. The companies of these, generally composed, in a great measure, of strangers, were still known, in the South, by the name of bands of Catalans, as they were, in the North, by that of Brabançons. The routiers were lawless banditti ; they pillaged the churches and the priests, but had, in truth, no connexion with the heretics, and took no interest in doctrinal questions and controversies. They, however, were offended with the preachings directed against them, and in their turn avenged themselves against the missionaries and inquisitors.⁷

The count of Toulouse, Raymond VI, who had cultivated the friendship of the routiers, and who had employed their arms in his frequent wars, shared also their resentments. We know but imperfectly the history of the count of Toulouse before the crusade. Raymond VI, who succeeded

⁷ *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, p. 138. *Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, cap. vi, p. 670.

to his father, Raymond V, in 1124, at the age of thirty-eight, had already, at the head of these roustiers, of whom he had made himself captain, made war against many of his neighbours. He had disputed with the barons of Baux, and with many of the lords of Languedoc and Provence, as well as with some of his own vassals; and this was apparently the reason of his seeking the alliance of Peter II, king of Aragon, whilst his father and his ancestors had, on the contrary, endeavoured to repress the ambition of that house. Raymond VI married his fourth wife, Eleanor, sister of Peter II, about the year 1200; and in 1205 he promised his son, afterwards Raymond VII, to Sancha, daughter of the same king, who was but just born.

Raymond VI was, in the spring of 1207, upon the borders of the Rhone, occupied with the war which he was carrying on against the barons of Baux, and other lords of those countries, when the legate, Peter of Castelnau, undertook to make peace between them. He first made application to the barons, and obtained their promise, that if Raymond VI would acquiesce in their pretensions, they would employ all their assembled forces in the extermination of the heretics. After having agreed with them upon the form of a treaty, the legate returned to the count of Toulouse, and required him to sign it. Raymond VI was nowise inclined to purchase, by the renunciation

of his rights, the entrance into his states of a hostile army, who were to pillage or kill all those of his vassals whom the priests should indicate. He therefore refused his consent, and Peter of Castelnau, in his wrath, excommunicated him, laid his country under an interdict, and wrote to the pope, to obtain the confirmation of the sentence.⁸

Audacious as was the conduct of his legate, Innocent III was determined to support him. He appears to have sought for an opportunity to commence hostilities; being well persuaded, that after the progress which had been made in the public opinion, the executioners were not sufficient to destroy heresy, but that the whole people must be exposed to the sword of the military. To confirm the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his legate, he wrote himself to count Raymond, on the 29th of May, 1207, and his letter began with these words: “ If we could open your heart, we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the words of salvation: we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the divine laws by protecting the enemies of the faith ? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you

⁸ Petri Vallis Cernai Hist. Albigens, cap. iii, p. 559. Innocentii III, lib. x. ep. lxix.—*Histoire de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, ch. xxvii, p. 146.

not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes?.....”⁹

So insulting a letter, addressed to a sovereign, must have revolted his pride; nevertheless, the monk, Peter de Vaux Cernay, tells us, “the wars which the nobles of Provence carried on against him, through the industry of that man of God, Peter de Castelnau, and the excommunication which he published in every place against the count, compelled him, at last, to accept the same conditions of peace, and to engage himself by oath to their observance; but as often as he swore to observe them, so many times he perjured himself.”¹

Neither Peter de Castelnau, nor the pope, knew any other means of conversion than war, murder, and fire. In this same year, 1207, Innocent III thought, for the first time, of preaching a crusade against the sectaries; and since the princes of the country appeared too slow in exterminating them, he projected the calling in of strangers to accomplish this work. On the 17th of November, he wrote to Philip Augustus, exhorting him to declare war against the heretics, the enemies of God and the church; and promising him, in reward, in this life the confiscation of all their goods, and in the other, the same indulgences as were granted

⁹ *Innocentii III, lib. x, ep. lxix.—Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. xxxiii, p. 150.*

¹ *Petri Vallis Cernii Hist. Albig. liv. iii, p. 159.*

to those, who combated the infidels in the holy land. At the same time, he addressed similar letters to the duke of Burgundy, to the counts of Bar, of Nevers, and of Dreux ; to the countesses of Troie, of Vermandois, and of Blois ; and to all the counts, barons, knights, and faithful, of the kingdom of France.² Before, however, these letters had produced any effect, a bloody catastrophe redoubled the rage of the pope and the bigots, and kindled the sacred war.

Count Raymond, when he signed the peace with his enemies, had engaged to exterminate the heretics from his states ; but Peter de Castelnau very soon judged, that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal. He went to seek him, reproached him to his face with his indulgence, which he termed baseness, treated him as perjured, as a favorer of heretics, and a tyrant, and again excommunicated him. This violent scene appears to have taken place at St. Gilles, where count Raymond had given a meeting to the two legates.

1208. This lord, exceedingly provoked, threatened to make Castelnau pay for his insolence with his life. The two legates, disregarding this threat, quitted the court of Raymond without a reconciliation, and came to sleep, on the night of the 14th of January, 1208, in a little inn by the side of the

² *Innocentii III Epistolæ, lib. x, ep. cxlix.*

Rhone, which river they intended to pass the next day. One of the count's gentlemen happened to meet them there, or perhaps had followed them. On the morning of the 15th, after mass, this gentleman entered into a dispute with Peter de Castelnau, respecting heresy and its punishment. The legate had never spared the most insulting epithets to the advocates of tolerance, the gentleman already irritated by the quarrel with his lord, and now feeling himself personally offended, drew his poignard, struck the legate in the side, and killed him.³ The intelligence of this murder excited Innocent III to the greatest excess of wrath. Raymond VI had by no means so direct a part in the death of Castelnau, whom the church regarded as a martyr, as had Henry II in the death of Thomas à Becket. But Innocent III was more haughty and implacable, than Alexander III had been. He immediately published a bull, addressed to all the counts, barons, and knights of the four provinces of the Southern Gaul, in which he declared that it was the devil who had instigated his principal minister, Raymond, count of Toulouse, against the legate of the holy see. He laid under an interdict, all the places which should afford a refuge to the murderers of Castelnau; he demanded that Raymond of Toulouse should be

³ Petri Vallis Cern. cap. viii, p. 563. *Historia de los grans faicts d'armas et guerras de Tolosa*, p. iii. This is a Languedocian chronicle inserted amongst the proofs of the third volume of the history of Languedoc.—*Chronol. Roberti Altissiodorensis*, tom. xviii, p. 275.

publicly anathematised in all the churches ; "and as," added he, "following the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers, we must not observe faith towards those who keep not faith towards God, or who are separated from the communion of the faithful, we discharge, by apostolic authority, all those who believe themselves bound towards this count, by any oath either of alliance or of fidelity ; we permit every catholic man, saving the right of his principal lord, to pursue his person, to occupy and retain his territories, especially for the purpose of exterminating heresy."⁴

This first bull was speedily followed by other letters equally fulminating, from Innocent III to all who were capable of assisting in the destruction of the count of Toulouse. He addressed Philip Augustus, exhorting him to carry on in person this sacred war of extermination against heretics, (who are, said he, far worse than the Saracens,) and to strip the count of Toulouse of all his possessions. He wrote, at the same time to the archbishops of Lyons and Tours, to the bishops of Paris and Nevers, and to the abbot of Citeaux, to engage their concurrence in this holy enterprise.⁵

Galono, cardinal deacon of Saint Mary dello Portico, whom the pope sent with these letters to France, does not appear to have obtained much credit with King Philip, who was, at that time,

⁴ *Petri Vallis Cern. cap. viii, p. 564.*

⁵ *Innocentii III, Epist. lib. xi, Ep. 27, 28, 30, 32, &c.*

more occupied by his rivalry with the King of England, and with Otho of Germany, than with heresy.⁶ But the monks of Citeaux, who had, at the same time, received powers from Rome, to preach the crusade amongst the people, gave themselves to the work with an ardour which had not been equalled even by the hermit Peter, or Foulques de Neuilly. Innocent III, impelled by hatred, had offered to those who should take the cross against the Provençals, the utmost extent of indulgence which his predecessors had ever granted to those who laboured for the deliverance of the holy land. As soon as these new Crusaders had assumed the sacred sign of the cross, (which, to distinguish themselves from those of the East, they wore on the breast instead of the shoulders,) they were instantly placed under the protection of the holy see, freed from the payment of the interest of their debts, and exempted from the jurisdiction of all the tribunals; whilst the war which they were invited to carry on, at their doors, almost without danger or expense, was to expiate all the vices and crimes of a whole life. The belief in the power of these indulgencies, which we can scarcely comprehend, was not yet abated; the barons of France never doubted, that, whilst fighting in the holy land they had the assurance of paradise. But those distant expeditions had

⁶ *Lettre de Philippe Auguste à Raymond, dans les preuves de l'Histoire de Languedoc, tom. iii, p. 210.*

been attended with so many disasters; so many hundreds of thousands had perished in Asia, or by the way, from hunger, or misery, or sickness, that others wanted courage to follow them. It was then, with transports of joy, that the faithful received the new pardons which were offered them, and so much the more, that far from regarding the return they were called upon to make, as painful or dangerous, they would willingly have undertaken it for the pleasure alone of doing it. War was their passion, and pity for the vanquished had never troubled their pleasure. The discipline of the holy wars was much less severe than that of the political, whilst the fruits of victory were much more alluring. In them, they might, without remorse, as well as without restraint from their officers, pillage all the property, massacre all the men, and violate the women and children. The crusaders to the East well knew that the distance was so great, as to give them little chance of bringing home the booty which they had gained by their swords; but instead of riches, which the faithful were to seek at a distance, and tear from barbarians, of whose language they were ignorant, they were offered the harvest of a neighbouring field, the spoil of a house which they might carry to their own, and captives, abandoned to their desires, who spoke the same language with themselves. Never therefore had the cross been taken up with a more unanimous consent. The first to

engage, through the commands of their pastors, in this war which was denominated *sacred*, were Eudes III, duke of Burgundy; Simon de Montfort, count of Leicester; the counts of Nevers, of St. Paul, of Auxerre, of Genève, and of Forez.⁷

The abbot of Citeaux, Arnold Amalric, distinguished himself with his whole congregation, by his zeal in preaching this war of extermination; the convents of his order (the Bernardins), of which there were already seven or eight hundred in France, Italy, and Germany, appropriated the Crusade against the Albigenses as their special province. In the name of the pope, and of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, they promised, to all who should perish in this holy expedition, plenary absolution of all sins, committed from the day of their birth, to that of their death. But whilst the Bernardins were recruiting soldiers for the cross, Innocent III charged a new congregation, (at the head of which he placed the Spaniard, Saint Dominic,) to go on foot, two by two, through the villages, to preach the faith in the midst of them, to enlighten them by controversial discussions, to display to them all the zeal of Christian charity, and to obtain from their confidence, exact information as to the number and dwellings of those who had wandered from the church, in

⁷ *Rigordus de Gestis Philippi Augusti*, p. 62 et finis.—*Guillelm. Armoricus*, p. 82.—*Chroniques de Saint-Denys*, p. 394.—*Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, ch. xli, p. 156.—*Historia de los grans faicts d'armas*, p. 4.

order to burn them when the opportunity should arrive. Thus began the order of the preaching brethren of St. Dominic,⁸ or of the inquisitors. The new bishop of Toulouse, Foulques, or Fouquet, a native of Marseilles, who had formerly distinguished himself as a troubadour, and who, quitting love and poetry, had thrown himself into the ranks of the persecutors, appears to have suggested to Innocent III the principal rules of this order, the experiment of which was made for seven years in his diocese, before the pope confirmed it in the council of Lateran.⁹

1208. The crusaders were not ready to march this year, but their immense preparations resounded throughout Europe, and filled Languedoc with terror. It was well known that the countries destined to vengeance and extermination, by the monks of Citeaux, as being more particularly the seats of heresy, were the states of Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, and those of his nephew Raymond Roger viscount of Alby, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Limoux in Rasez. Although Raymond of Toulouse had been a soldier of some distinction, he was mild, feeble, and timid, desirous of saving his subjects from confiscations and punishments, but still more desirous of saving himself from persecution. His nephew, on the contrary,

⁸ *Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, cap. x, p. 673.*

⁹ *Theodoricus in Vita Sancti Dominici, lib. i, cap. ult. Apud Surium, tom. iv, die 4 Augusti.—Raynaldi Annal. 1215, § xvii, p. 245.*

was generous, lofty, and impetuous : he was twenty-four years of age ; he had succeeded his father fourteen years before, and during his minority his states had been governed by guardians inclined to the new doctrines. These two princes, having learned that Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, leader of the crusade, had been nominated, by the pope, his legate in those provinces from which he designed to eradicate heresy, and that he had assembled a council of the chiefs of the sacred war, at Aubenaz, in the Vivarais, went thither to avert the storm, if possible. They protested that they were strangers to heresy; that they were innocent of the death of Peter of Castelnau; and they demanded at least to be heard, before they were condemned. The legate received them with extreme haughtiness, declared that he could do nothing for them, and that, if they wished to obtain any mitigation of the measures adopted against them, they must address themselves to the pope. Raymond Roger perceived by this language, that nothing was to be expected from negotiation, and that there remained no alternative but to place garrisons in all their strong towns, and to prepare valiantly for their defence. But Raymond VI, overwhelmed with terror, declared himself ready to submit to any thing; to be himself the executor of the violence of the ecclesiastics against his own subjects; and to make war against his family, rather than draw the crusaders into his states. The

two relations, not being able to agree upon the conduct they were to pursue, separated, with reproaches and menaces. Raymond Roger retired into his states, and immediately put himself into a defensive condition; he even began hostilities against the count⁺ of Toulouse, whose attacks he apprehended; whilst Raymond VI, after having assembled his most faithful servants at Arles, engaged the archbishop of Auch, the abbot of Condom, the prior of the Hospitalers of Saint Gilles, and Bernard, lord of Rabasteens in Bigorre, to proceed to Rouen, in order to offer his submission to Innocent III, and receive his indulgence.¹

Raymond VI at the same time applied for the protection of his cousin, Philip Augustus King of France, and that of Otho King of Germany. The former at first received him with fair words, but afterward took occasion from the solicitations of Raymond to his rival, Otho, to refuse him all assistance.² The ambassadors of Raymond to the Pope, were on the contrary, received with apparent indulgence. It was required of them that their master should make common cause with the crusaders; that he should assist them in exterminating the heretics; and that he should surrender to them seven of his best castles, as a pledge of his intentions. Upon these conditions

¹ *Historia de las Armas*, p. 4, 5, 6. *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, ch. xlvi, p. 157. *Hist. Albigen. Petri Vallis Cern.* c. ix, p. 566.

² *Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, cap. xiii, p. 674.

the pope not only gave Raymond the hope of absolution, but promised him his entire favour.³ Innocent III was, however, far from having pardoned Raymond in the bottom of his heart. For, at this same epoch, he wrote to the bishops of Riez and Conserans, and to the abbot of Citeaux, “ We counsel you, with the apostle Paul, to employ guile with regard to this count, for in this case it ought to be called prudence. We must attack, separately, those who are separated from unity, leave for a time the count of Toulouse, employing towards him a wise dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone.”⁴ We cannot but remark, that whenever ambitious and perfidious priests had any disgraceful orders to communicate, they never failed to pervert, for this purpose, some passages of the holy Scriptures; one would say that they had only studied the Bible to make sacrilegious applications of it.

All the fanatics whom the preachings of the monks of Citeaux had engaged to devote themselves to the sacred war began to move in the spring of the year 1209. The indulgences of the crusade had been offered to them on the lowest terms; they were required to make a campaign

³ *Historia de los faicts d'armas*, p. 6. *Petri Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. xi. p. 567.

⁴ *Innocentii III Epist. lib. xi. Ep. 232. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxi.* p. 160.

of only forty days, (to which the greater part of the vassals were obliged by the service of their fiefs,) in exchange for eternal salvation. The shorter the service was, the better it suited the neighbouring provinces.

It was, in fact, principally amongst the near neighbours of the Albigenses, that the Bernardins found means to draw after them nearly the whole population. Some authors have spoken of three hundred, or even of five hundred thousand pilgrims or crusaders, who precipitated themselves upon Languedoc ; the abbot of Vaux Cernay reckons but fifty thousand in this first campaign, and the smallest number is the most probable, especially in that age when very numerous armies were so seldom seen. We must not, however, include in this calculation the ignorant and fanatical multitude which followed each preacher, armed with scythes and clubs, and promised to themselves that if they were not in condition to combat the knights of Languedoc, they might, at least, be able to murder the women and children of the heretics. Several places had been assigned for the assembling of the crusaders. Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, legate of the pope, and chief director of the crusade, collected at Lyons the greatest number of combatants, principally those who had taken arms in the kingdom of Arles, and who were vassals of Otho IV; the archbishop of Bourdeaux had assembled a second body in the Age-

nois ; these were subjects of the king of England ; the bishop of Puy commanded a third body in the Velay, who were subjects of Philip Augustus.⁵

When count Raymond VI learned that these terrible bands of fanatics were about to move, and that they were all directed towards his states, he hastened to represent to the pope, that the legate Arnold, who conducted them, was his personal enemy, and “ it would be unjust” said he “ to profit by my submission, to deliver me to the mercy of a man who would listen only to his resentment against me.” To take from the count of Toulouse, in appearance, this motive for complaint, Innocent III named a new legate, Milon his notary or secretary ; but far from endeavouring, by this means, to restrain the hatred of the abbot of Citeaux, his only aim was to deceive Raymond ; “ for the lord pope expressly said to this new legate, let the abbot of Citeaux do every thing, and be thou only his organ ; for in fact the count of Toulouse has suspicions concerning him, whilst he does not suspect thee.”⁶

The nearer the crusaders approached, the more the count of Toulouse, who had given himself into their power, was struck with terror. On the one hand, he endeavoured to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting new privileges to

⁵ Petri Vallis Cern. Hist. Albigen. cap. xvi, p. 571. Historia de los faicts d'armas, p. 8 et seq. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. liii, p. 167, 168.

⁶ Hist. Albigen. Petri Vall. Cern. cap. x, p. 566.

some, and pardoning the offences of others who had incurred his resentment ;⁷ on the other hand, he consented to purchase his absolution from the hands of the pope's legate, by the most humiliating concessions. He consigned to the apostolic notary seven of his principal castles, as a pledge of his fidelity ; he permitted the consuls of his best cities to engage to abandon him if he should depart from the conditions imposed upon him ; he submitted beforehand, to the judgment which the legate should pronounce upon fifteen accusations which the agents of the persecution had laid against him ; and finally, he suffered himself on the 18th of June to be conducted into the church of St. Gilles, with a cord about his neck and his shoulders naked, and there received the discipline around the altar. After all these humiliations, he was allowed to take the cross against the heretics, and it was by favour that he was permitted to join those who were about to attack his nephew, becoming their guide for that purpose.⁸

The principal army of the crusaders descended the valley of the Rhone by Lyons, Valence, Montelimart and Avignon. The count of Toulouse went to meet it at Valence ; he conducted it to Montpellier where it passed some days. In this city the young Raymond Roger, viscount of Be-

⁷ *Remissio Consulibus et habitatoribus Nemausi* :—*Preuves de Languedoc*, p. 211.

⁸ *Acta inter Innocentii Epistolas*, tom. ii, p. 347, et seq. *Hist. Albigen.* Petri, cap. xii, p. 568. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, p. 162.

ziers, came also to seek the legate with a view of making his peace. According to the ancient chronicle of Toulouse, he told him “that he had done the Church no wrong, and wished to do none; but that if his people and officers had received and supported any heretics or other persons, in his domain, that he was innocent of it and not to blame; and that those ought to pay and satisfy, and not he, considering his disposition; and that the said officers had always governed his territory to this hour; praying and supplicating the said legate and council, to receive him to mercy, for he was servant to the church, and for her wished to live and die towards and against every one.”—To which the legate replied that what he had to do was to defend himself the best that he could, for he should shew him no mercy.⁹

Indeed, from that time, the viscount of Beziers thought only of making a vigorous defence. He called to him all his vassals, all his friends and allies, and communicated to them the offers which he had made; he informed them of the manner in which they had been received, and found them as determined as he was, to defend themselves. It was very far from being the case, that all who took arms with him were heretics, but the mass of the crusaders, whose arrival they had beheld, was so disorderly, so eager to shed blood, in

⁹ *Historia de los faictos d'armas de Tolosa*, p. 7.

honour of the church, so impatient for action, without asking or receiving any explanation, that no one dared to take the chance of its errors, and that all the barons and knights were eager to shut themselves up in their castles, to summon their peasants, and to provision themselves there, that they might be able to resist the first attack. Some castles, as Servian and Puy-la-roque, were abandoned at the approach of these fanatics ; others, as Caussadi and St. Antonin, where there was no suspicion of heretics, ransomed themselves by heavy contributions. Villemur was burned. Chasseneuil, after a vigorous resistance, capitulated. The garrison obtained permission to retire with what they could carry, but the inhabitants, being suspected of heresy, were abandoned to the mercy of the legate. The crusaders regarded their capture as the object and recompense of their enterprise. Men and women were all precipitated into the flames, amidst the acclamations of their ferocious conquerors : all the wealth found in the castle was afterwards given up to pillage.¹

But Raymond Roger had chiefly calculated on the defence of his two great cities, Beziers, and Carcassonne ; he had divided between them his most valiant knights, and the routiers who were attached to his fortune. He had first visited Beziers to assure himself that this place was provi-

¹ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. lvi, p. 168. Historia de los faicts d'armas, p. 18.*

ded with every thing, and to exhort the citizens valiantly to defend their lives. He had then shut himself up in Carcassonne, a city built upon a rock partly surrounded by the river Aude, and whose two suburbs were themselves encircled by walls and ditches. The citizens of Beziers felt themselves intimidated, when they knew that their young viscount quitted them for a place of greater strength ; their inquietude redoubled when they saw the crusaders arrive, whose three bodies united under their walls after the middle of July 1209. They had been preceded by Reginald of Montpeyroux bishop of Beziers, who after having visited the legate, and delivered to him a list of those, amongst his flock, whom he suspected of heresy, and whom he wished to see consigned to the flames, returned to his parishioners, to represent the dangers to which they were exposed, and to exhort them to surrender their fellow citizens to the avengers of the faith, rather than to draw upon themselves, and upon their wives and children, the wrath of heaven and the church. "Tell the legate," replied the citizens, whom he had assembled in the cathedral of St. Nicaise, "that our city is good and strong, that our Lord will not fail to succour us in our great necessities, and that, rather than commit the baseness demanded of us, we would eat our own children." Nevertheless, there was no heart so bold as not to tremble, when the pilgrims were encamped under

their walls ; “ and so great was the assemblage both of tents and pavilions, that it appeared as if all the world was collected there ; at which those of the city began to be greatly astonished, for they thought they were only fables, what their bishop had come to tell them, and advise them.”²

The citizens of Beziers, though astonished, were not discouraged : whilst their enemies were still occupied in tracing their camp, they made a sally, and attacked them at unawares. But the crusaders were still more terrible, compared with the inhabitants of the south, by their fanaticism and boldness, than by their numbers. The infantry alone sufficed to repulse the citizens with great loss. At this instant, all the battalions of the besiegers, precipitating themselves upon them at the same time, pursued them so eagerly that they entered the gates with them, and found themselves masters of the city before they had even formed their plan of attack. The knights, learning that they had triumphed without fighting, inquired of the legate, Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, how they should distinguish the catholics from the heretics, who made them this much celebrated reply : “ *Kill them all; the Lord will know well those who are his.*”³

² *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 9, 10. *Historia Albigena. Petri Val. Cern. cap. xv*, p. 570. *Præclara Francor. facinora: apud Duchesne, tom. v*, p. 765. *Bernardi Guidonis Vita Innocentii III*, p. 481. *apud Muratorii, tom. iii, Script. Ital.*

³ *Cæsar Heisterbachiensis, lib. v, cap. 21. In Bibliotheca Patrum Cister-*

The fixed population of Beziers did not, perhaps, exceed fifteen thousand persons ; but all the inhabitants of the country, of the open villages, and of the castles which had not been judged capable of defence, had taken refuge in this city, which was regarded as exceedingly strong ; and even those who had remained to guard the strong castles, had, for the most part, sent their wives and children to Beziers. This whole multitude, at the moment when the crusaders became masters of the gates, took refuge in the churches ; the great cathedral of Saint Nicaise contained the greater number ; the canons, clothed with their choral habits, surrounded the altar, and sounded the bells as if to express their prayers to the furious assailants ; but these supplications of brass were as little heard as those of the human voice. The bells ceased not to sound, till, of that immense multitude, which had taken refuge in the church, the last had been massacred. Neither were those spared who had sought an asylum in the other churches ; seven thousand dead bodies were counted in that of the Magdalen alone. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in Beziers, and had pillaged the houses of all that they thought worth carrying off, they set fire to the city, in every part at once, and reduced it to a vast funereal pile. Not a house

remained standing, not one human being alive. Historians differ as to the number of victims. The abbot of Citeaux, feeling some shame for the butchery which he had ordered, in his letter to Innocent III reduces it to fifteen thousand, others make it amount to sixty.⁴

The terror inspired by the massacre at Beziers, caused all the country places to be deserted. None appeared strong enough to resist an army, which, in a single day, had taken and destroyed the capital. The inhabitants preferred taking refuge in the woods and mountains, to waiting for such enemies, within the enclosure of walls, which might serve them for a prison. As there was not a knight in all France whose dwelling was not fortified, the number of castles, in the two dioceses of Beziers and Carcassonne, was immense; but the crusaders found more than a hundred of them deserted. They still advanced, however, unsatiated with blood, and on the 1st of August arrived before Carcassonne. That city was then entirely built on the right of the Aude; the young viscount had augmented its fortifications, and it was defended by a numerous garrison. On the following day an attack was made upon

⁴ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. lvii, p. 169.* *Historia de los faicts d'armas de Tolosa, p. 11.* *Chronicon Guillelmi de Nangis, p. 488.* *Guillelmus Armoricus, p. 92.* *Philippidos, lib. viii, p. 220.* *Innocentii III Epist. lib. xii. Ep. 108.* *Chron. de St. Denys, p. 403.* *Roberti Altissiodorens. tom. xviii, p. 276.* Bernard Itier of Limoges, a contemporary, makes the number of the slain 38,000: *Chronicon, tom. xviii, p. 227,* and Alberic, monk of the three fountains, 60,000: *Ibid. p. 775.*

one of the suburbs, and after a combat of two hours, during which Raymond Roger on one side, and count Simon de Montfort on the other, gave proofs of extraordinary valour, it was taken. The assailants then proceeded to the attack of the second suburb, but were repulsed with loss. For eight days the besieged continued to defend it with success; they at last evacuated it, and having set it on fire, they abandoned it to their enemies, and retired into the city.⁵

King Peter II of Aragon, whom the viscount of Beziers had acknowledged as his lord, beheld with chagrin the oppression of that young prince, his nephew. He came to the camp of the crusaders, he addressed himself to the count of Toulouse, his brother-in-law, whom he saw compelled to follow and second the enemies of his country; he offered himself as mediator between him, the duke of Burgundy, and the legate, on one side, and the viscount on the other. Before they entered on any conditions, the abbot Arnold of Citeaux, who wished to obtain some information as to the state of the besieged, engaged the King of Aragon to enter himself into the city, to confer with Raymond Roger. The young viscount, after giving his lively thanks, said to him, “If you wish to arrange for me any adjustment, in the form and manner which shall appear to you fitting, I will

⁵ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 12. *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. xvi, p. 571. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxI, ch. lxxix, p. 171.

accept and ratify it without any contradiction; for I see clearly, that we cannot maintain ourselves in this city, on account of the multitude of countrymen, women, and children, who have taken refuge here. We cannot reckon them, and they die every day in great numbers. But were there only myself and my people here, I swear to you, that I would rather die of famine, than surrender to the legate." When the king of Aragon had related this discourse to the Abbot of Citeaux, he could better judge what sort of propositions he might make to a generous man, with the assurance that they would not be accepted; for whilst he dared not absolutely repel such a mediator as the king of Aragon, yet he wished not to have a peace which should suspend the massacres. He therefore caused the viscount to be informed, that the only terms which could be granted him were, that he might quit the city with twelve others, and that the remainder of the citizens and soldiers should be abandoned to his good pleasure." "Rather than do what the legate demands of me," replied Raymond Roger, "I would suffer myself to be flayed alive. He shall not have the least of my company at his mercy, for it is on my account they are in danger." Peter II approved the generosity of his nephew, and turning towards the knights and citizens of Carcassonne, to whom these conditions had also been announced, he said to them, " You now know what you have to

expect; mind and defend yourselves well, for he who defends himself always finds good mercy at last.”⁶

The king of Aragon was scarcely departed, before the crusaders made an assault upon the walls. They endeavoured to fill the ditches with faggots, which they brought for that purpose, encouraging each other by loud shoutings. But, as soon as they approached the walls, the besieged poured upon them streams of boiling water and oil, they crushed them with stones and projectiles of every kind, and forced them to retire. The attack was prolonged, and many times renewed, but the assailants were at last obliged to retreat with great loss. The time was now approaching when the greater part of the crusaders would have finished their forty days' service; they had reckoned upon a miracle in their favour, and already had been repulsed in two assaults. The legate remarked in his army some symptoms of discouragement; he therefore employed a gentleman related to the viscount, who happened to be with him, to enter into the city and renew the negotiations. Raymond Roger, on his side, greatly desired an honourable capitulation, for he began to perceive the failure of water in the cisterns of the city, which the extreme heat of the season had dried up. He was so fully satisfied of the rectitude of his proceedings, that he could not but believe, when the

⁶ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 15.

injustice of which he had been the victim should be known, that it would excite the commiseration of the great lords and the ecclesiastics, whom zeal for Christianity had alone armed against him. He persuaded himself, that if he could gain a hearing he should be able to remove all the difficulties which he had hitherto encountered, and he only asked of the mediator who presented himself, to procure him a safe conduct, that he might repair to the camp of the crusaders. He obtained, both from the legate and the lords of the army, the most complete guarantee for his safety and liberty, and the promise of the crusaders was confirmed by oaths. He then quitted the city, attended by three hundred knights, and presented himself at the tent of the legate, where all the principal lords of the army were assembled. After having nobly and powerfully defended his conduct, he declared that he submitted, as he had always done, to the orders of the church, and that he awaited the decision of the council.

But the legate was profoundly penetrated with the maxim of Innocent III, that "*to keep faith with those who have it not, is an offence against the faith.*" He caused the young viscount to be arrested with all the knights who had followed him, and confided him to the care of Simon de Montfort. By this treachery, he thought to strike with terror the souls of the inhabitants of Carcassonne; but the effect of it was precisely to withdraw from

his power the victims whom he had destined to the flames. The citizens were acquainted with a secret passage by which they could escape from the town. It was a cavern, three leagues in length, which goes from Carcassonne as far as the towers of Cabardes. During the night they escaped by this cavern, abandoning all their riches to the avidity of their enemies. The next morning, the besiegers were astonished at not seeing any person on the walls of the city; but it required a considerable time to convince them that it was entirely deserted. They then entered, and the legate took possession of the spoil in the name of the church, excommunicating those of the crusaders who should have appropriated the smallest part. Nevertheless, he thought himself obliged to dissemble the villainy to which he had had recourse, and which had so badly succeeded. He announced that on the 15th of August, the day of the occupation of the city, he had signed a capitulation, by which he permitted all the inhabitants to quit it with their lives only. He thought it also proper, for the honour of the holy church, not to let it be supposed that all the heretics had escaped him. His scouts had collected in the fields a certain number of prisoners, and amongst the fugitives from Carcassonne some had been overtaken and brought to the camp. He had in his hands, besides, the three hundred knights who had accompanied the viscount. Out of all these, he

made choice for execution of four hundred and fifty men and women, who might be suspected of heresy. Four hundred he caused to be burned alive, and the remaining fifty to be hanged.⁷

The principal object of the crusade was now accomplished: the count of Toulouse, who had been accused of favouring the heretics, had submitted to the most degrading humiliations to make his peace. The viscount of Narbonne, to avoid the visit of the crusaders, had published against the heretics laws more rigorous than even the church demanded.⁸ The viscount of Beziers was a prisoner; his two strongest cities were destroyed, and the greater number of his castles contained not a single inhabitant. The French lords, who, to gain the pardons of the church, had marched to the crusade, began to feel some shame for all the blood which had been shed, and for their word which had been falsified. The knights and soldiers having fulfilled the term of their service, demanded their dismissal; but the abbot of

⁷ The recitals of the ancient historians are so contradictory respecting the taking of Carcassonne, that we can scarcely recognize the same event. I have followed the history in the provençal tongue, *des grands faicts d'armes de Toulouse*, p. 16, 17, 18. And I have attributed to the desire of the legate to accredit a recital more honourable for him, the narration of the following, *Epistolæ Innocentii III, apud Petrum Val.*, Ed. 1615, p. 322. *Præclara Francor. facinora*, p. 765. *Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, cap. xiv, p. 674. *Petri. Val. Cern. Albigens.*, cap. xvi, p. 571. *Philippidos*, lib. viii, p. 220. *Cæsar Heisterbachiensis*, lib. v, cap. 21. It appears that the authors of *l'histoire de Languedoc* have judged the same, *liv. xxi, chap. lxi*. See also *Rob. Altissiodor.*, t. 18, p. 276.

⁸ *Histoire de Languedoc*, *liv. xxi, ch. lviii*, p. 169.

Citeaux, the legate of the Pope, alone felt that he had not done enough. The sectaries were frozen with terror; they had concealed themselves; they were silent; they would even be so, long after the departure of the crusaders. But they were not destroyed; their opinions would secretly circulate; resentment for the outrages already suffered would alienate them still more from the church, and the reformation would break forth afresh. To turn back the march of civilization, to obliterate the traces of a mighty progress of the human mind, it was not sufficient to sacrifice, for an example, some thousands of victims: the nation must be destroyed; all who had participated in the development of thought and of science must perish, and none must be spared but the lowest rustics, whose intelligence is scarcely superior to the beasts whose labours they share. Such was the object of the abbot Arnold, and he did not deceive himself as to the means of accomplishing it.

Arnold Amalric, chief of the order of Citeaux, and legate of the Pope, having assembled a council of the crusaders, required them to dispose of the conquests they had made in favour of a prince who would complete the extirpation of heresy; and he offered at first the viscounties of Beziers and of Carcassonne to Eudes III, duke of Burgundy; but he refused, saying, "that he had plenty of domains and lordships, without taking that,

to disinherit the said viscount ; and that it appeared to him they had done him evil enough without despoiling him of his heritage." This noble refusal touched the honour of the other great lords. The count of Nevers, and the count of St. Paul, to whom the legate made the same propositions, held the same language. The abbot of Citeaux, to give more weight to his offers, associated with himself two bishops and four knights, and the council of the crusaders agreed that these seven commissioners should regulate the fate of the conquered countries. In their name Arnold then offered these same sovereignties to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. This lord of a castle, ten leagues from Paris, was the head of a house that had been illustrious for two hundred years, and which is traced by some to a natural son of king Robert.⁹ He had possessed the countship of Evreux, which, a few years since, he had sold to Philip Augustus ; and his mother, who was an English woman, had left him as an heritage the earldom of Leicester. He had distinguished himself in the fourth crusade, from which he was recently returned. Skilful as a soldier, austere in his carriage, fanatical in his religion, cruel and perfidious, he united every quality which could

⁹ *Præfatio Camuratii Tricassini in Petrum Vallis Cern. Mon.* Peter de Vaux Cernay, the historian of the crusade, was a Bernardin monk, or of the order of Citeaux ; his convent was situated near to Montfort Amaury. He was vassal of his hero, Simon de Montfort, whom he followed to the crusade.

please a monk. He was too ambitious to refuse the offer which was made him of elevating himself to the rank of the grand feudatories ; but he still thought himself obliged to feign a refusal, very sure that they would overcome this pretended reluctance. He had, indeed, the pleasure of seeing the bishops throw themselves at his feet, to obtain his acceptance of what he the most desired.¹

Simon de Montfort then took possession of the provinces which the legate offered him as a gift. He received the homage of those of the vassals of the two viscounties of Beziers and of Carcassonne, whom terror had brought to the camp of the crusaders, and who were eager, at this price, to make their peace with the church. He imposed on his new states an annual rent, payable at the court of Rome, and he published rigorous ordinances against those of his subjects who should not anxiously endeavour to free themselves from excommunication.² Yet the war was not terminated ; many castles, even at the gates of Carcassonne, served as refuges to the heretics, whilst every day numerous bands of crusaders, having finished the time of service for which they were engaged, abandoned the army. The count of Nevers rejected all the solicitations of the legate, and departed precisely at the termination of his forty days. The

¹ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 19. *Petri Vallis Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. 17, p. 572.

² *Preuves de l'histoire de Languedoc*, p. 213.

count of Toulouse did the same. The duke of Burgundy consented to prolong the campaign a little, and assisted Simon de Montfort to take possession of Fanjeaux, Castres, and Lombes, as well as at the attack upon the castle of Gabaret, from which the crusaders were repulsed with loss ; but three days after this affair he returned to his own country.³

Notwithstanding the departure of so many of the crusaders, there remained to Simon de Montfort soldiers enough to continue the war. Some came from his fiefs, or from those of his wife's family ; for about the year 1190 he had allied himself to a powerful house at the gates of Paris, by his marriage to Alice, daughter of Bouchard, of Montmorency. Others attached themselves to a skilful general, who promised them frequent occasions of pillage, and perhaps permanent establishments in a conquered country. Many also were still influenced by that same fanaticism which had at first led them to the crusade. During the remainder of the campaign, Simon de Montfort directed their arms against the count of Foix, who, as well as the viscount of Carcassonne, was called Raymond Roger. This count must have been about fifty-five years of age ; he had reigned ever since 1188, and had accompanied Philip Augustus to the third crusade. He possessed the greater part of Albigeois, which was regarded as the

³ Petri Hist. Albigen. cap. xx, xxv, p. 574, et seq.

seat of the new doctrines ; and he was himself accused of having secretly adopted them. In the first terror spread by the massacre at Beziers, the count of Foix dared not any longer continue the campaign ; he retired into the most inaccessible part of his states, whilst the catholic clergy of his principal cities rallied round Simon de Montfort. This last was received without a combat into Pamiers and Albi. The castle of Mirepoix was also delivered to him, and Montfort bestowed it on Guy de Levis, his marshal, in whose posterity this fief has remained, with the title of count. The count of Foix, still troubled by a storm, which nevertheless began to abate from those countries, demanded to treat. Simon de Montfort, who perceived his real force diminish each day, and who never suffered his fanaticism to blind him as to his policy, accepted his propositions ; and during some weeks towards the end of the year 1209 the war appeared suspended on that frontier.⁴

In the mean time, Simon de Montfort detained in prison the legitimate sovereign of the states, of which he had taken possession. He could perceive, even amongst his companions in arms, that pity towards this prince had already succeeded to fury. His neighbours loved him ; his people regretted him ; his relation and lord, the king of Aragon, might be disposed to resume his protec-

⁴ Petrus Vallis Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. xxv, p. 576.

tion. Simon de Montfort gave the necessary orders that Raymond Roger should die of a dysentery on the 10th of November, in a tower of the viscountal palace at Carcassonne, where he was carefully guarded. He then took care to display his body to his subjects, and to give him an honourable funeral. Yet, by the public voice he was accused of having poisoned him, and even Innocent III acknowledged that he perished by a violent death.⁵

⁵ *Et morit, coma dit ès, prisonier, donc fouc bruyt per tota la terra, que lo dit conte de Montfort l'avia fait morir.*—*Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 20.—*Guillelmus de Podio Laurentii, cap. xiv*, p. 675.—*Innocentii III, Epist. Lib. xv, Ep. 212.*—*Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. lxxv*, p. 183.

CHAP. II.

*Continuation of the Crusade against the Albigenses, to
the Battle of Muret, 1210—1213.*

THOSE who had marched to the First Crusade against the Albigenses, or who had made the campaign of 1209, regarded their object as completely attained, and the war as terminated. Indeed, desolation had been carried into the bosom of the country where the reformation had commenced. Two large cities had been destroyed, and thousands of victims had perished by the sword, whilst thousands of others, driven from their burning houses, were wandering in the woods and mountains, and sinking each day under the pressure of want. Amongst the princes who had wished to maintain in their dominions a certain liberty of conscience, one had perished in prison, and had been replaced by the most pitiless of persecutors. Two others had submitted, and, to make their peace, refused not their tribute to the fires of the inquisition, so that, every day, the church celebrated the sacrifice of numerous human victims.

The ruin of so fair a country, the contrast between its former opulence and its present desola-

tion, the remembrance of its fêtes, of its tournaments, of the courts of love assembled in every castle, of the troubadours, the singers, the minstrels, visiting by turns the lords and noble ladies, welcomed at their arrival, loaded with presents, at their departure, and the sight of the fires for executions, of deserted villages, of burning houses, would soon have caused the fury of war to have been succeeded by a deep-felt pity, if any other cause than religious fanaticism had armed the hands of the crusaders.

Those who had committed so many crimes were not, for the greater part, bad men. They came from that part of Burgundy and northern France, where crimes have always been rare, where long contentions, hatred, and vengeance, are passions almost unknown—and where the unhappy are always sure to find compassion and aid. The crusaders themselves were always ready to afford each other proofs of generosity, of support, and compassion; but the heretics were, in their eyes, outcasts from the human race. Accustomed to confide their consciences to their priests, to hear the orders of Rome as a voice from heaven, never to submit that which appertained to the faith to the judgment of reason, they congratulated themselves on the horror they felt for the sectaries. The more zealous they were for the glory of God, the more ardently they laboured for the destruction of heretics, the better Christians they thought them-

selves. And if at any time they felt a movement of pity or terror, whilst assisting at their punishment, they thought it a revolt of the flesh, which they confessed at the tribunal of penitence; nor could they get quit of their remorse, till their priests had given them absolution. Woe to the men whose religion is completely perverted! All their most virtuous sentiments lead them astray. Their zeal is changed into ferocity. Their humility consigns them to the direction of the impostors who conduct them. Their very charity becomes sanguinary; they sacrifice those from whom they fear contagion, and they demand a baptism of blood, to save some elect to the Lord.

Besides, never had more energetic means been employed to confound the understanding, and corrupt the human heart. That is a very superficial, and a very false, judgment, which condemns whole nations for the crimes committed in their bosom. In proportion to the faithfulness of history, are the horrors with which it charges all great societies of men; and if every thing were known, no nation would have much wherewith to reproach another. Let no one, then, pride itself because all has not been told concerning it. As to the persecution of the Albigenses, it was not the work of the French alone. The Italian, Innocent III, first gave the signal, and he also bestowed the recompence. He continually sharpened the sword of the murderers, by his legates

and missionaries. The two Spaniards, the bishop of Ozma and Saint Dominic, (the founders of the inquisition) first taught the art of seeking out, in the villages, those whom the priests were afterwards to fasten to their stakes. The Germans, invited by their monks, came to take a part in this work, even from the extremities of Austria; and the English Matthew Paris renders testimony to the zeal of his countrymen in the same cause, and to their triumphant joy at the miracle (for so he called the massacre of Beziers) which had avenged the Lord.⁶

But if we are bound to absolve large masses of men from the atrocities committed, in the name of religion, against the Albigenses, it would be to destroy the only responsibility which rests upon the powerful, the only resort for the oppressed upon this earth, not to hold up to public execration the fanatical monks who directed this movement, and the ambitious who profited by it. Amongst the first, the vengeance of public opinion ought not to rest only upon those who accompanied the crusaders, in their expeditions, who dragged the reformers to the flames, and who mingled their songs of triumph with the groans of their miserable victims; these were, at least, blinded by the same mad passion with which they had inspired the combatants. There was something more personal, more deliberate, more

⁶ *Matth. Paris, Edit. Londin. p. 203.*

coldly ferocious, in those clouds of monks who, issuing from all the convents of the order of Citeaux, spread themselves through the states of Europe, occupied all the pulpits, appealed to all the passions to convert them into one, and showed how every vice might be expiated by crime, how remorse might be expelled by the flames of their piles, how the soul, polluted with every shameful passion, might become pure and spotless by bathing in the blood of heretics. After the conquest of the suspected country had been accomplished, after peace had been granted to the princes, and a safeguard to the submissive people, the monks of Citeaux continued, in every church, to preach a war of extermination, because they had done it with success in the preceding year, and because they were unwilling to relinquish the honours and profits of their mission. By continuing to preach the crusade, when there were none to combat, they impelled, each year, waves of new fanatics upon these miserable provinces ; and they compelled their chiefs to recommence the war, in order to profit by the fervour of those who still demanded human victims, and required blood to effect their salvation.

1209. After the departure of the crusaders, towards the end of the summer of 1209, the count Raymond VI of Toulouse thought himself on the point of being reconciled to the church, to which he had given sureties, and which he had

served in the preceding campaign. The count of Foix had made his peace with Simon de Montfort, who was endeavouring to establish himself in the viscounties of Carcassonne and Beziers, at the same time that he was negotiating with Don Pedro, king of Aragon, then at Montpellier, to prevail on him to receive his homage. The arrival of new crusaders, conducted by Guy abbot of Vaux-Cernay, of the order of Citeaux, inspired Simon de Montfort with fresh courage. On one hand, he thought it time to throw away the mask with Raymond VI count of Toulouse. He caused him to be excommunicated by the two legates, and laid all his territory under an interdict, after which he began hostilities against him.⁷ On the other hand, he caused the abbot of Eaulnes, who had made the peace between him and the count of Foix, to be assassinated; he then accused the count of this crime, and declared all negotiation between them to be at an end.⁸ Simon de Montfort was, however, too eager in attacking new enemies before he had entirely subjugated the old. The king of Aragon, after amusing him with long negotiations, peremptorily refused his homage, and would acknowledge no other vis-

⁷ *Innocentii III, lib. xii, Ep. 106, 107. Histoire de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. lxviii, p. 178.*

⁸ The knights of Toulouse, in a memorial addressed to the king of Aragon, accuse Simon and the crusaders of having given the best reception to the assassins of the abbot of Eaulnes: *Preuves de l'histoire de Languedoc*, p. 236. Peter de Vaux-Cernay, on the contrary, accuses the count of Foix of this assassination: *cap. xxx, Hist. Albigens.* p. 579.

count of Beziers and Carcassonne than Raymond Trencavel, son of the last viscount, two years of age, who was then under the care of the count of Foix. At the same time, he solicited the knights, who held from these two viscounties, to take arms for the son of their lord, promising them powerful succours. Towards the end of November, they all revolted, almost at the same time. Many of the French, the creatures of Simon de Montfort, were surprised in the castles which they regarded as their conquest. Some became victims of the resentment excited in the country by the cruelties of the crusaders; and at the end of the year, the domination of Simon de Montfort in Languedoc was reduced to eight cities or castles, whilst it had at first comprised more than two hundred.⁹

Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, would have been afraid of compromising himself still more with the court of Rome, if he had given any appearance of exciting these revolts, or of making common cause with the enemies of Simon de Montfort. Although Montfort had already commenced hostilities against him, he judged it more expedient to repair first to the court of Philip Augustus, and afterwards to that of the pope, than to remain in his states, and defend them by open force. He arrived at Rome at the com-

⁹ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 21, 22. *Hist. Albigens.* cap. xxvi, xxvii, p. 577.

mencement of the year 1210, and addressed himself to the pope to obtain his absolution. He was prepared to make great concessions, that he might avoid the fate of his nephew, the viscount of Beziers. He thought no longer of defending his heretical subjects; it was sufficient for him to shelter himself from the ambition of Simon de Montfort, from the hatred of the legate, Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, and from the sanguinary fury of Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, who would have gladly seen the half of the flock, entrusted to his care, perish on the scaffold.

1210. Innocent III found himself, at that time, in one of those moments when he felt the power of the resistance he was called upon to conquer, and too much accustomed to despise. He had elevated himself to universal monarchy, and gave laws to the two empires of the east and west. In that same year he scolded the king of Portugal, and encouraged the king of Castille; he set himself as judge of the divorce of the king of Bohemia, and he incited the king of Denmark to take the cross. He had also just confirmed the rule which St. Francis d'Assise had given to the fraternity the most devoted to the holy see of all the orders of monks.¹ But, on the other hand, the emperor Otho IV, whom he regarded as his creature, had just escaped from him, and incurred ex-

¹ *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.* 1210, § xxviii, p. 196. *Lucas Wadingus Ann. minor ad ann. 1210.*

communication by his resistance to the holy see. John, the king of England, lived in open enmity with the church. Philip Augustus had dared to seize upon the temporalities of two bishops. A system of opposition to the pope appeared to be preparing in the Christian world, and, in spite of all his pride, Innocent III was too politic not to temporize when occasion required.²

Whether Innocent proposed only to separate Raymond from his partisans, to inspire him with a deceitful confidence, and to gain time, as the most zealous amongst the orthodox writers affirm,³ or whether he really felt good will towards the count of Toulouse, and was afterwards prevented from pardoning him by his legates, who deceived him, as some writers the most disposed to tolerance have supposed,⁴ certain it is that he gave this prince a gracious reception. He released him, provisionally, from the excommunication pronounced against him, but referred him, for final absolution, to a council which should assemble in the province three months after the count's return. The purpose of this council was only to judge whether Raymond was, or was not, guilty of heresy, and whether he had, or had not, prompted the murderer of the legate Peter of Castelnau. These were the two accusations which exposed

² *Guillelmus Armoricus*, p. 84.

³ *Petrus Vallis. Cern. Hist. Albigen. cap. xxxiii*, p. 580.

⁴ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 23. *Histoire de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. lxxxii*, p. 187.

the count to the severest penalties; but, on the other hand, they were those respecting which he felt himself the most innocent, and of which he was the most eager to purge himself.⁵

1210. But the legate Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, joined to the ambitious zeal of the pope an implacable hatred against count Raymond. He had summoned the council, to which Innocent III had referred the cause of the count, to meet at Saint Gilles, but, before its assembling, new successes of Simon de Montfort against the lords of the castles, who still defended either the independence of their jurisdiction or that of their conscience, and new judicial massacres, had inspired him with more confidence in the cause which he wished to see triumphant. Master Theodise, a canon of Genoa, whom the pope had sent to advise with the legate, had a secret conference with him at Toulouse. "He was," says Peter de Vaux-Cernay, "a circumspect man, prudent and very zealous for the affairs of God, and he desired above all things to find some pretext of right to refuse the count that opportunity of justifying himself which Innocent had granted him."⁶ He agreed, at last, with the abbot of Citeaux and the bishop of Riez, that he should seek some cause of dispute with the count, respecting the accomplishment of some subordinate conditions which the pope had

⁵ *Innocentii III Epistolæ, lib. XII, 152.* 169.

⁶ *Hist. Albigen. cap. xxxix,* p. 585.

enjoined upon him, founding himself upon the words of the bull of Innocent III—*We desire that he execute our orders.*⁷

When, in fact, Raymond VI presented himself to the council of St. Gilles, to justify himself, and offered to establish, by indubitable proofs, that he had never participated in heresy, and was a stranger to the murder of the legate, Peter of Castelnau, Master Theodise stopped him, by declaring that he had not yet destroyed all the heretics of the county of Toulouse; that he had not yet suppressed all the tolls, whose abolition was demanded by the pope; that he had not yet abolished or restored all the collections, which his officers had made upon different convents; and since he had disobeyed the orders of the church in smaller matters, they might conclude that he would, the more certainly, have disobeyed in the two crimes of which he was accused. Thus, the council, to prevent perjury either in himself or his witnesses, refused him the permission to clear himself of these two capital accusations. When the count, who thought himself fully assured that this day would establish his innocence, heard this unexpected declaration, he burst into tears. But Master Theodise remembered a passage of holy Scripture, by which to free himself from feelings of humanity. *How great soever be the overflow of waters,* said he, turning his tears into derision, *they*

⁷ Petri Vallis Cern. cap. xxxix, p. 585. Concilia generalia, t. xi, p. 54.

will not reach unto God; and he fulminated, in the name of the church, an excommunication against the count of Toulouse.⁸ The council of St. Gilles did not assemble till the end of September, and its rigour augmented in proportion to the success obtained by Simon de Montfort in the course of this same campaign. During the winter, Montfort had been reduced to stand upon the defensive, and revolts in every part of the province had sufficiently proved to him how much his yoke was detested. But the monks of Citeaux had recommenced the preaching of the crusade in the north of France. There was, said they to those ferocious and superstitious warriors, no crime so dark, no vice so deeply rooted in the heart, the very trace of which, a campaign of forty days, in the south of France, would not obliterate. Paradise, with all its glories, was opened for them, without the necessity of purchasing it by any reformation in their conduct. Alice of Montmorency, Simon de Montfort's wife, undertook the direction of the first army of crusaders, raised by the monks. At the beginning of Lent, her husband came to meet her at Pezenas, and no sooner found himself at the head of an imposing force, than he gave full scope to his cruelty.”⁹

He attacked, in the first place, the castle of

⁸ Psalm xxxi, v. 8. Petri Val. Cern. cap. xxxix, 586. *Histoire de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, p. 197, et note xvi, p. 561.

⁹ *Histoire de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, ch. lxxxiv, p. 191.

Lauraguais and Minervois. The feudal state of independence had multiplied these fortresses, and the smallest province was covered with citadels. They did not all however appear to their possessors capable of sustaining a siege ; the terror which the crusaders inspired caused a great number to be abandoned. Simon de Montfort generally caused all their inhabitants, whom he could lay hands upon, to be hanged upon gibbets. Some castles, calculating too favourably upon their strength, endeavoured to resist him ; that of Brom was taken by assault the third day of the siege, and Simon de Montfort chose out more than a hundred of its wretched inhabitants, and having torn out their eyes, and cut off their noses, sent them, in that state, under the guidance of a one-eyed man, to the castle of Cabaret, to announce to the garrison of that fortress the fate which awaited them. The castle of Alairac was not taken till the eleventh day, and even then a great part of its inhabitants were able to escape from the ferocity of the crusaders. Montfort massacred the remainder. Farther on he found castles abandoned and absolutely empty ; and, not being able to reach the men, he sent out his soldiers to destroy the surrounding vines and olive-trees.¹

1210. Montfort afterwards conducted his army to a more important siege, that of the castle of Minerva, situated at a small distance from Nar-

¹ *Petri Vallis Cernai Histor. Albigens. cap. xxxiv, xxxv, p. 581, 582.*

bonne, on a steep rock, surrounded by precipices, and regarded as the strongest place in the Gauls. This castle belonged to Guiraud of Minerva, vassal of the viscounts of Carcassonne, and one of the bravest knights of the province. The army of the crusaders appeared before Minerva, at the beginning of June; the legate Arnold, and the canon Theodise, joined it soon after. The inhabitants, among whom were many who had embraced the reform of the Albigenses, defended themselves with great valour for seven weeks; but when, on account of the heats of summer, the water began to fail in their cisterns, they demanded a capitulation. Guiraud came himself to the camp of the crusaders, one day when the legate was absent, and agreed with Simon de Montfort on conditions for the surrender of the place. But, as they were proceeding to execute them, the abbot Arnold returned to the camp, and Montfort immediately declared that nothing which they had agreed upon could be considered as binding, till the legate had given his assent. "At these words," says Peter de Vaux-Cernay, "the abbot was greatly afflicted. In fact, he desired that all the enemies of Christ should be put to death, but he could not take upon himself to condemn them, on account of his quality of monk and priest." He thought, however, that he might stir up some quarrel between the negociation, profit by it to break the capitulation, and cause all the inhabit-

ants to be put to the sword. For this purpose, he required the count on one part, and Guiraud of Minerva on the other, to put into writing, without communicating with each other, the conditions on which they had agreed. As Arnold had flattered himself, he found some difference in the statements, and Montfort immediately availed himself of it, to declare, in the name of the legate, that the negociation was broken off. But the lord of Minerva instantly replied, that, though he thought himself sure of his memory, yet he accepted the capitulation as Simon de Montfort had drawn it up. One of the articles of this capitulation provided, that the heretics themselves, if they were converted, might quit the castle, and have their lives saved. When the capitulation was read in the council of war, " Robert of Mauvoisin," says the monk of Vaux-Cernay, " a nobleman, and entirely devoted to the catholic faith, cried, that the pilgrims would never consent to that; that it was not to shew mercy to the heretics, but to put them to death, they had taken the cross; but the abbot Arnold replied—fear not, for I believe there will be very few converted." The legate was not deceived in this bloody hope. The crusaders took possession of the castle of Minerva the 22nd of July, 1210; they entered, singing *Te Deum*, and preceded by the cross and the standards of Montfort. The heretics were, in the mean time, assembled, the men in one house, the women in another,

and there, on their knees, and resigned to their fate, they prepared themselves, by prayer, for the punishment which awaited them. The abbot, Guy de Vaux-Cernay, to fulfil the capitulation, came, and began to preach to them the catholic faith; but his auditors interrupted him by a unanimous cry—“ We will have none of your faith,” said they, “ we have renounced the church of Rome: your labour is in vain; for neither death nor life will make us renounce the opinions that we have embraced.” The abbot of Vaux-Cernay then passed to the assembly of the women, but he found them as resolute, and more enthusiastic still in their declarations. The count of Montfort, in his turn, visited both. Already he had piled up an enormous mass of dry wood: “ *Be converted to the catholic faith,*” said he to the assembled Albigenses, “ *or ascend this pile.*” None were shaken. They set fire to the pile, which covered the whole square with a tremendous conflagration;—and the heretics were then conducted to the place. But violence was not necessary to compel them to enter the flames; they voluntarily precipitated themselves into them, to the number of more than one hundred and forty, after having commended their souls to that God, in whose cause they suffered martyrdom. Three women only, forcibly retained by the noble dame of Marly, mother of Bouchard, lord of Montmorenci, were saved from the flames; and terror and consternation succeed-

ing to their enthusiastic fervor, they consented to be converted.²

The capture of Minerva was quickly followed by the siege of the castle of Termes, upon the frontiers of Roussillon. This castle was extremely strong, and commanded by a valiant captain, Raymond of Termes. He made a long resistance, and tired the patience of the crusaders, who would willingly have granted an advantageous capitulation. As the pilgrims after a service of forty days, which was sufficient to obtain the indulgences, quitted the army, Simon de Montfort found himself, on many occasions, left with so small a force, that he was on the point of raising the siege. But all the provinces of the Gauls, excited by the same fanaticism, sent, in their turns, contingents to the sacred war. After the arrival of the bishops of Chartres and Beauvais, who had conducted thither the inhabitants of Orléanais, and the isle of France, and the counts of Dreux and Ponthieu followed by their vassals, there came in succession, Bretons, Germans, and Lorrains. The strength of the besieged sunk at last, after four months combats, under so many

² *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. xxxvii, p. 583, 584. We owe to this historian, monk of Vaux-Cernay, the admirer of his abbot Guy, and of his lord Simon de Montfort, who accompanied both in the crusade, all the detail of the circumstances; but they are confirmed in a more summary manner by the *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 25.—*Chron. Guill. de Nangis*, p. 490.—*Præclara Francorum Facinora*, p. 765.—*Bernardi Guidonis Vita Innocentii III. Script. Ital. t. iii*, p. 481.—*Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, p. 193, 194.

repeated attacks, and so much the more, as, having filled their cisterns a second time from the rains which fell during the great heats, numerous dysenteries, from that cause, prevailed amongst them. During the night between the 22nd and 23rd of November, they attempted to escape by abandoning the place. They did, indeed, pass the first entrenchments, and dispersed themselves in the mountains, with the hope of reaching Catalonia ; but the moment their flight was perceived, a general cry arose in the army. The crusaders exhorted each other not to let those, who had cost them so much sweat and blood, escape from punishment. The whole body of the pilgrims followed the fugitives, the greater part of whom were overtaken, and killed on the spot ; others were conducted alive to Simon de Montfort. Of these, he spared Raymond, lord of Termes, and, instead of burning him, confined him at the bottom of a tower in Carcassonne, where he suffered him to languish for many years.³

The taking of two such strong places as Minerva and Termes made all the garrisons of the neighbouring castles lose their courage : they dared no longer trust to their walls, and the army advancing into the Albigeois to the left of the Tarn found all the places deserted. By this means they occupied the castles of Constasse, of Puyvert, of Lombers, and a great number of others ;

³ Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. xlvi, p. 590, 591.

but the miserable inhabitants were not able to save themselves by flight. They were followed into the woods and mountains; the greater part perished there by the sword, and those that were brought prisoners to the camp were burned for the edification of the army.⁴

Whatever care the legates had taken, to prevent the count of Toulouse from justifying himself, Innocent III had not yet confirmed the sentence of excommunication, which had been newly fulminated against him. So powerful a feudatory required to be treated with greater caution than had been used towards the inferior lords, who were, like him, accused of favouring the heretics. Philip Augustus had written to the pope to recommend him to his indulgence. Don Pedro, king of Aragon, who had long since given his sister in marriage to Raymond VI, and had afterwards promised his own daughter to his son, having lost that daughter at an early age, had married, in the beginning of the year 1211, another of his sisters, also named Sancha, to the young Raymond VII, and thus strengthened still more the alliance which united him to this house.⁵ Simon de Montfort, whose fanaticism never prevented him from managing his temporal interests like a wily politician, undertook to deprive the count of Tou-

⁴ *Hist. Albig.* cap. xlii, p. 592. *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 29. *Bernardi Guidonis Vita Innocentii III*, p. 482.

⁵ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii*, cap. xviii. p. 677. Note 35 à *l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 591.

louse of the support which he found in Spain, and, for this purpose, carefully sought to gain the friendship of the king of Aragon. Pedro thought perhaps that by reconciling himself with Montfort, he might afterwards the more easily serve his two brothers-in-law. He began, therefore, by receiving his homage for the two viscounties of Carcassonne, and of Beziers: afterwards he consented, by a strange and inexplicable arrangement, not only to betroth his son Don Jayme or James, to a daughter of Montfort, but to commit his only son, then three years of age, to that lord whom he disliked and distrusted. When Don Pedro took, in the beginning of the year 1211, this strange resolution, he was impelled perhaps by one of those fits of devotion which in that age deranged all the calculations of policy; perhaps, he feared, for his French provinces, the attacks of those swarms of crusaders, whom he saw every year arrive, and was willing, at any price, to ensure the friendship of their chief.⁶

1211. But neither the manœuvres of Montfort, with regard to the count of Toulouse, nor his alliance with the king of Aragon, was of long duration. Informed that the preachers of the crusade, instead of growing cool, were inflamed by his last success, and that the crusaders who would join him, during the year, would be more numerous than those of the years preceding, he prepared to

⁶ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi, ch. xcvi, p. 203.*

second the hatred of the abbot of Citeaux and the bishop Fouquet against the count of Toulouse, in the hope of joining the fine sovereignty of that prince to his former conquests. He wished, however, to profit to the last by the weakness of Raymond, and by his desire to be reconciled to the church, and he awaited the result of a citation of the legates, who had summoned him to appear, about the middle of February, before a provincial council, which they were assembling at Arles. Count Raymond and the king of Aragon attended there together, and were no sooner entered into the city, than they received orders not to quit it without the permission of the council. A note containing thirteen articles was afterwards communicated to them, on the reception and execution of which, the fathers of the church announced that they would restore to the count of Toulouse, all his territories and lordships, *when it should please the count of Montfort and the legate.* Never was a more absurd and insulting treaty proposed to a sovereign prince, who was still in full possession of his states. Raymond VI was required to dismiss all the soldiers armed for his defence; to rase all his fortifications; to exclude from the strong cities of his dominions all the knights who might serve for their defence; to renounce all the customs which formed the greater part of his revenue; to reduce all the inhabitants of his states, both nobles and plebeians, to wear the dress of

penitence, and submit to an abstinence almost monastical ; to deliver to Simon de Montfort and the legate, at the first demand, all those of their subjects whom they should require, that they might burn them according to their good pleasure ; in fine, to proceed himself to the Holy Land, to serve amongst the hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, until he was recalled by the legate.⁷ The indignation and surprise of count Raymond and the king of Aragon, at reading these demands, was proportionable to their insolence. They had been prohibited from quitting Arles, but no precautions had been taken for retaining them in that city. They instantly set out, without taking leave of the bishops, who, throwing off all disguise towards the count of Toulouse, excommunicated him afresh, declared him an enemy to the church, and an apostate from the faith, and abandoned his domains to the first occupant.⁸

We may be assured that these churchmen, when they shewed themselves so arrogant and pitiless, were sensible of the augmentation of their forces. In fact, the fanatic Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had been preaching the crusade in France with great success. It was at Toulouse, especially, that he wished to kindle the flames ; it was in the flock

⁷ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 30 et suiv. *Histoire de Languedoc*, liv. xxi, ch. xcvi, p. 204.

⁸ *Acta Concilii Vauriensis, in tomo 2, Epistolæ Innocentii III, Edit. Baluzii*, p. 762.

which God had confided to him that he wished, he said, to separate the sheep from the goats. Many of those who attended on his ministry, who conformed to all the laws of the church, appeared to him either too lukewarm in their zeal, or suspicious in their faith, and he wished to purify them by fire. He succeeded in causing the bishop of Paris, Robert de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, Enguerrand de Coucy, Joel de Mayenne, and a great number of other French barons and knights, to take the cross against the Albigenses. These, in the course of the same campaign, were followed by Leopold duke of Austria, Adolphus count of Mons, and William count of Juliers.⁹ The Holy Land was nearly abandoned by the western knights, since they could gain the same indulgences by these, as it were, domestic crusades. About the 10th of March, Simon de Montfort found himself at the head of a very large army, with which he opened the campaign.

His first attack was directed against the castle of Cabaret, which had hitherto braved all the threats of the crusaders; but long reverses had broken the spirit of the Albigenses. Peter Roger, lord of Cabaret, submitted voluntarily to Montfort, and opened to him the gates of his fortress. His example was followed by the lords of many other castles, in the mountains which separate

⁹ Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. xlvi, p. 596.—Cæsar Heisterbachensis, lib. v, cap. xxi.

the diocese of Carcassonne from that of Toulouse. It seemed to be the design of Montfort to open to himself these passages, by treating the places with a humanity which he rarely exercised. The crusaders then advanced as far as Lavaur on the Agoüt, five leagues from Toulouse. Lavaur, which was afterwards raised to the rank of an episcopal city, was then only a strong castle. It belonged to a widow named Guiraude, whom her brother, Aimery de Montreal, had joined with eighty knights, after having been despoiled by the crusaders of his own fiefs. Aimery and Guiraude, as well as many of their defenders, professed the reform of the Albigenses. They had opened an asylum, within their walls, to those of the reformed who were persecuted in the other parts of the province; so that their fortress, which was well stored with provisions, surrounded with strong walls, and girded with deep ditches, was considered as one of the principal seats of heresy. This consideration prevented count Raymond, who still courted the church, from openly sending them assistance; but, he is accused of having caused his seneschal to enter it secretly with a body of knights. During this time, Fouquet returning to Toulouse had communicated his fanaticism to a part of the inhabitants of that city. He told them that their mixture with the heretics rendered them an object of horror to all Christians; and, that they might not be confounded with them, they

should be the first to arm themselves against those of their fellow-citizens who had abandoned the catholic faith. He had enrolled them into a society which named itself, *the White Company*, and engaged to destroy the heretics by fire and sword. Having thus inflamed their zeal, he sent five thousand of these fanatics to the siege of Lavaur.¹

Whilst this siege was going on, count Raymond made one more attempt at reconciliation with the legate and Simon de Montfort; but all his offers having been rejected, he saw, at last, that a more vigorous conduct was his only resource; and upon this he ought doubtless, long since, to have determined, if so much resolution had belonged to his character. He formed a close alliance with the counts of Cominges, and of Foix; with Gaston, viscount of Bearn; Savary de Mauleon, seneschal of Aquitaine, and the other lords of those provinces, who were accused of tolerance or of heresy, and whose interests were become one with his own. These lords, informed that the German body of crusaders, from the duke of Austria, and the counts of Mons and Juliers, had advanced as far as Montjoyre, between the Tarn and the Garonne, and that it was marching to the siege of Lavaur, six thousand strong, detached a chosen body of troops, under the command of the count of Foix, of his son, and of Guiraud de Pepieux,

¹ Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. xlix, l, p. 596. 597. Guil. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xvi, xvii, p. 676.

who laid an ambush for the Germans, and cut them in pieces before Simon de Montfort could come to their assistance. On the other side count Raymond had prohibited all his subjects, from carrying provisions to the camp of the crusaders, who were thereby reduced to great extremities. But they were commanded by a chief, as much superior to the other captains by his skill and prudence, as he outdid the rest of the fanatics by his cold ferocity. Simon de Montfort had profited by all the progress which the art of war had made in that age. He had himself served in the Holy Land, and there were in his camp a great number of knights who had combated against the Turks and the Greeks, and who had, in the East, acquired the knowledge of the attack and defence of fortified places. He employed, therefore, to overthrow the walls, ingenious machines, whose introduction was quite recent amongst the Latins, and which were as yet unknown to the inhabitants of the Pyrenees.

The most fearful was that which was called *the cat*. A moveable wooden tower, strongly constructed, was built out of the reach of the besieged. When it was entirely covered with sheep-skins, with the fur outwards to guard it from fire, and provided with soldiers at its openings, and on the platform at its summit, it was moved on rollers to the foot of the wall. Its side then opened, and an immense beam, armed with iron

hooks, projected like the paw of a cat, shook the wall by reiterated strokes, after the manner of the ancient battering ram, and tore out, and pulled down, the stones which it had loosened. Simon de Montfort had constructed a cat, but the wide ditches of Lavaur prevented him from bringing it near enough to the walls. The crusaders, under the orders of Montfort, laboured unceasingly to fill up the ditch, whilst the inhabitants of Lavaur, who could descend into it by subterranean passages, cleared away each night all that had been thrown in during the day. At last Montfort succeeded in filling the mines with flame and smoke, and thereby prevented the inhabitants from passing into them. The ditches were then speedily filled ; the cat was pushed to the foot of the wall ; and its terrible paw began to open and enlarge the breach.

On the day of the finding of the holy cross, the 3rd of May, 1211, Montfort judged the breach to be practicable. The crusaders prepared for the assault. The bishops, the abbot of Courdieu, who exercised the functions of vice-legate, and all the priests clothed with their pontifical habits, giving themselves up to the joy of seeing the carnage begin, sang the hymn *Veni Creator*. The knights mounted the breach. Resistance was impossible ; and the only care of Simon de Montfort was to prevent the crusaders from instantly falling upon the inhabitants, and to be-

seech them rather to make prisoners, that the priests of the living God might not be deprived of their promised joys. "Very soon," continues the monk of Vaux-Cernay, "they dragged out of the castle Aimery, lord of Montreal, and other knights to the number of eighty. The noble count immediately ordered them to be hanged upon the gallows; but, as soon as Aimery, the stoutest among them, was hanged, the gallows fell; for, in their great haste, they had not well fixed it in the earth. The count, seeing that this would produce great delay, ordered the rest to be massacred; and the pilgrims, receiving the order with the greatest avidity, very soon massacred them all upon the spot. The lady of the castle, who was sister of Aimery, and an execrable heretic, was, by the count's order, thrown into a pit, which was filled up with stones; afterwards, our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics that the castle contained, and burned them alive with the utmost joy."²

Open hostilities had not yet commenced between Simon de Montfort and the count of Toulouse, but they followed immediately on the taking of Lavaur. The refusal to send provisions to the besiegers might serve as a pretext, but none was wanted for attacking those who were excommunicated. The castle of Montjoyre was the first

² Cum ingenti gaudio. *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens.* c. lii, p. 598, 599.—*Bernardi Guidonis Vita Innocentii III,* p. 482. This last informs us that 400 heretics were burnt at Lavaur. *Guil. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xvii,* p. 676.

place, immediately belonging to the count of Toulouse, before which the crusaders presented themselves; and being abandoned, it was burned and rased from top to bottom by the soldiers of the church. The castle of Cassero afforded them more satisfaction, as it furnished human victims for their sacrifices. It was surrendered on capitulation; *and the pilgrims seizing nearly sixty heretics burned them with infinite joy.* This is always the phrase employed by the monk, who was the witness and panegyrist of the crusade. A great number of castles were afterwards either surrendered to the crusaders or abandoned; and these crusaders finding themselves, about the middle of June, reinforced by a new army from Germany, undertook the siege of Toulouse.³

This city was very far from having been converted to the reformation of the Albigenses; the catholics still formed the greater number. But their consuls refused either to renounce their fidelity to their count, though he had been excommunicated, or to deliver up to punishment those of their citizens who were suspected of inclining towards the new opinions. The bishop Fouquet had succeeded in forming in the city an association, named the white company, who engaged to pursue the heretics unto death. This company, by its own authority, erected a tribunal, before

³ Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. liii, p. 600. Chron. Guill. de Pordio Laur. cap. xviii, p. 676.

which it carried those whose faith it suspected, with those whose conduct it accused, or against whom it alleged usurious loans. It afterwards executed its own judgments by open force, by the destruction and pillage of their houses. The partisans of tolerance very soon formed a counter association, which they called the black company; the two troops frequently came to arms in the streets, with ensigns displayed; and many towers, which belonged to one side or the other, were alternately besieged. "Thus," continues master William Puylaurens, (a contemporary historian,) "did our Lord, by the ministry of his servant the bishop, instead of a bad peace, excite amongst them a good war."⁴

But, whilst the bishop was endeavouring to kindle war amongst his flock, the count was labouring to restore peace amongst his subjects. At the return of the five thousand men of the white company, who had been at the siege of Lavaur, he represented to them that their dissensions would bring ruin on their country; that an attack of the crusaders would involve them all in one common destruction; and that, whatever might be their differences of opinion, they ought to repair their walls, and prepare for their defence, if they would not expose themselves to the hazard of being put to the sword. He succeeded in producing a reconciliation between the two companies, and the

⁴ *Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, c. xv, p. 675.*

legate took occasion from it to subject all the Toulousians to a sentence of excommunication.”⁵ On his part, the bishop Fouquet recalled his clergy, that he might save his priests from that punishment to which he destined the remainder of his flock. All the priests of Toulouse, with the provost of the cathedral at their head, quitted the city, barefoot, carrying the holy sacrament in the procession, and singing litanies. However, the Toulousians did not at that time suffer the fate to which their pastors destined them. Raymond VI, seconded by the counts of Foix and of Cominges, so incommoded the besiegers, by frequent sallies, killed so many of them, and made them so soon endure privations and famine, that Simon de Montfort was obliged to raise the siege on the 29th of June, and soon after saw himself abandoned by the greater part of the crusaders, whose time of service had expired.”⁶

To efface the remembrance of this check, Simon de Montfort extended his ravages into the county of Foix, which he desolated with fire and slaughter. He then passed into Quercy, the lordship of which he compelled the inhabitants to give him. But at the same time the count of Toulouse, having collected succours from all his allies, came in his turn to besiege Castelnau-dary. He appeared

⁵ *Guillelmi de Podio Laur. cap. xviii, p. 677.*

⁶ *Petri Vallis Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. liv, lv, p. 600, 601. Historia de los faicts de Tolosa, p. 38. Lettre des habitans de Toulouse à Pierre roi d'Aragon. Preuves de l'histoire de Languedoc, p. 232 et seq.*

before that city towards the end of September, with the counts of Foix, and of Cominges, the viscount of Béarn, and Savary de Mauléon. Although the crusaders were reduced to an inferiority of number, Simon de Montfort did not abandon the besieged. He shut himself up in their walls, with a chosen troop of his old companions in arms, who did not exceed one hundred knights. At the same time he solicited his lieutenants, his vassals, and his wife, to collect all the soldiers who were at their disposal, and march to his deliverance; but as soon as his fortune began to waver, the hatred, that he had excited through the country, broke out in every part, and those, upon whom he had reckoned the most, declared against him. His mareschal Guy de Levis, and his brother-in-law, Bouchard de Marli, or Montmorency, succeeded, at last, in collecting a numerous body of knights, from the dioceses of Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Beziers. These were crusaders, who, like Montfort, had gained establishments in the country, and who saw, that, without an effort of valour, their conquests would be lost. The valiant count of Foix intercepted them about a league from Castelnaudary, attacked and dispersed them two several times, but his troops having broken their ranks, to pillage the vanquished, were attacked anew either by another body of the crusaders, or by Montfort himself, who at the head of sixty knights had sallied from

Castelnaudary, and were in their turn put to the rout. In spite of this success, in spite of the arrival of Alain de Rouci a French knight, with a fresh body of crusaders, the affairs of Simon de Montfort continued to decline to the end of the year. The count of Toulouse reconquered all the strong places of Albigeois, and, in more than fifty castles, the inhabitants eagerly expelled or massacred their French garrisons, to surrender themselves to their ancient lord.⁶

The hatred against the crusaders which seemed rooted in the hearts of all the inhabitants of the country, and of all who spoke the provençal language, gave occasion to the legates, the vice-legates, the monks of Citeaux, and to all that ecclesiastical council which hitherto had directed the crusade, to announce that it was time to complete the regeneration of the country, by changing the secular clergy. They had long accused the bishops of lukewarmness, or indifference to the triumphs of the church, and had solicited their deposition. This they at last obtained, in the year 1212, either from the pope, or from the timidity of the persecuted prelates themselves. Bernard Raymond de Rochefort, bishop of Carcassonne, consented to give in his resignation; and Guy, abbot of Vaux-Cernay, was invested with his

⁶ *Petri Vallis Cern. Hist. Albig.* c. lvi, lvii, lviii, p. 604 et seq. *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xix,* p. 677. *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa,* p. 42 et seq. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, chap. viii, ix, x,* p. 218 et seq.

bishopric. It is not known whether Berenger, archbishop of Narbonne, escaped by death from the persecutions which he had so long suffered, or whether he was deposed; but Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, and chief of all the legations to the Albigenses, took possession of this archbishopric. Amongst the bishops of his province, who assisted at his consecration, two others were taken from that order of Citeaux, which had preached and conducted the crusade. The abbot Arnold did not, however, content himself with the spiritual dignity which he acquired, as the fruit of his labours for the extirpation of heresy. To the archiepiscopal throne of Narbonne, and to the rich revenues of that metropolitan see, he resolved also to join the ducal crown. The count of Toulouse bore, at the same time, the title of duke of Narbonne, and the viscount of that same city was his vassal, and owed him homage. The abbot Arnold, in excommunicating Raymond VI, had abandoned his states to the first occupant, and he had taken care, in consequence, to be the first to occupy the duchy of Narbonne. He had taken possession of the archbishopric on the 12th of March, 1212, and on the 13th he demanded homage of the viscount of Narbonne, and an oath of fidelity.⁸

The fanaticism and cruelty of a monk were more easily pardoned, in that age, than the cupidity

⁸ *Hist. de Lang. liv. xxiii, ch. xvi, p. 223. Preuves ib. No. 106, p. 236.*

which induced him to seize upon the spoils of him whom he had persecuted. The monks of Citeaux began to sink in the estimation of the people, when it appeared that they had shed so much blood only for the opportunity of gaining possession of those episcopal sees which they coveted. Perhaps the legate, Arnold Amalric, who, by this conduct, had highly offended Simon de Montfort, and had dissolved that intimate union which had hitherto subsisted between those two ferocious men, endeavoured to cause this symptom of ambition to be forgotten, by rendering new services to the church; or perhaps he might be drawn, by his enthusiasm alone, to a new crusade, different from that which he had hitherto preached. Be this as it may, he had scarcely taken possession of the archbishopric of Narbonne, before he passed into Spain, to aid the kings of Castille, of Aragon, and of Navarre, against Mehemed-el-Nasir, king of Morocco.⁹

This Emir-al-Mumenim had been called into Spain by the victories of the Christian kings over the Moors of Andalusia. A mussulman crusade had been preached in Africa: innumerable swarms of warriors had crossed the strait of Cadiz; and the victory of the Moors at Alarcos, on the 18th of July, 1195, had given them a prodigious ascendency over the Christians. After losing many provinces, Alphonso IX, of Castille, had been

⁹ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xx, p. 677.*

obliged to demand an armistice; but this truce expired in 1212. The fanaticism of the Almohadans, who had annihilated the African church, gave reason to apprehend the entire extirpation of Christianity from Spain. Innocent III had therefore granted the preaching of a new crusade, to succour the Spaniards. The abbot Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, was not the only Gallic prelate who passed the Pyrenees; the archbishop of Bordeaux and the bishop of Nantes arrived also at Toledo, and with them a considerable number of barons, knights, and pilgrims, from Aquitaine, France, and Italy. This multitude, rendered ferocious by the war against the Albigenses, distinguished itself, however, only by the massacre of the Jews of Toledo, which it effected, notwithstanding the efforts of the noble Castillians to protect them; and, by its earnestness to put to death the Moorish garrison of Calatrava, in contempt of the capitulation. The French crusaders afterwards pretended, that they could no longer support the heat of the Spanish climate, and they retired before the terrible battle of Navas de Tolosa, fought on the 16th of July, 1212. This battle saved the Christians of Spain, and overturned the power of the Almohadans.¹

¹ Roderici Archiepiscopi Toletani, *lib. viii*, *cap. i, ii*, *p. 129, et seq.* In *Hisp. illustratæ*, *t. ii.* Roderic of Toledo had himself preached the crusade in France and Italy, and he describes, in detail, the events of which he was the principal author. We cannot, however, admit his testimony for the incredible number of combatants, or that of the slain. *Io. Muriæ, lib. xi, cap. xxiii, xxiv, p. 548.*

The crusade against the Moors of Spain, occasioned but a short interruption to that against the Albigenses. During the winter, Simon de Montfort had been reduced to the small number of knights attached to his fortunes; but, at the same time, the monks of Citeaux had recommenced their preaching, throughout all Christendom, with more ardour than ever; and the expedition against the Albigenses, to which, according to their assurances, such high celestial favours were attached, was, nevertheless, so short and so easy, that the army of the crusaders was renewed, four times in the course of the year, by pilgrims, who, after forty days' service, returned to their homes. Guy de Montfort, the count's brother, (who had just returned from the Holy Land), the provost of the church of Cologne, the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Laon, the bishop of Toul, and an arch-deacon of Paris, were amongst the principal chiefs who, in the year 1212, came to range themselves under the banners of Montfort. Their hope of contributing to the slaughter and punishment of the Albigenses was not entirely disappointed, but they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves by great achievements in arms. Upon the arrival of these fanatical bands, almost all the castles of the Toulousians were abandoned by their inhabitants, who sought a refuge in the cities of Toulouse and Montauban, almost the only places which they thought proof against a siege. But

the crusade had been preached only for the destruction of heretics; the indulgences of the church were only promised at this price. All the prelates, who arrived in Albigeois surrounded by bigots to whom they had promised the forgiveness of their sins, would have thought their vow unfulfilled if they had not avenged God against his rebels. They were, however, forced to content themselves with such fugitive peasants as they could surprise in the fields, or some prisoners, taken in the castles which had dared to resist them. Those of Saint Marcel and of Saint Antonin furnished them with a considerable number of human victims. But when Simon de Montfort saw that the greater part of the population of the countries, where heresy had prevailed, was exterminated, and that the remainder had placed themselves out of the reach of his attacks, he resolved to take advantage of the zeal of the crusaders, by conducting them into Agenois, whose entire population was catholic, and to make them gain their indulgences at the siege of la Penne, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered on the 25th of July.² The siege of Boissac, which followed, was remarkable only for the perfidy which Montfort compelled its inhabitants to practice. He refused to grant them their lives, till they had consented to sacrifice, with their own hands, three

² Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albig. cap. Ixiii, p. 616. Hist. gén. de Langue-doc, liv. XXII, ch. xxv, p. 228. Historia de los faictos de Tolosa, p. 46.

hundred *routiers*, who formed their garrison, and who had, to that time, valiantly defended them. On this condition, the gates of the city were opened to him on the 8th of September; and the crusaders, contenting themselves with this carnage, received from the citizens a sum of money, to save their houses from the flames.³ Simon conducted his army, afterwards, into the counties of Foix and of Cominges, which he ravaged afresh, whilst the count Raymond of Toulouse, despoiled of almost all his states, passed into Aragon, to implore the intercession of his brother-in-law, the king Don Pedro, with the court of Rome.⁴

At the end of November, 1212, Simon de Montfort assembled a *parliament* at Pamiers. Under this title was commonly understood a diet, or conference of lords, who united voluntarily to deliberate and decide upon their own interests. The parliament of Pamiers was composed of archbishops and bishops; of French knights drawn into the country by the crusades, or attached to the fortunes of Montfort; of certain knights who spoke the provençal language; and of some inhabitants of the principal cities of the country. The general of the crusade wished them to draw up statutes, for the government of the conquered provinces, and it was necessary that

³ Petri Vall. Hist. Albigens. cap. lxiii, p. 621. Historia de Tolosa, p. 46.

⁴ Hist. Albig. Petri Vall. Cern. cap. lxiv, p. 622. Hist. gén de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. xxx, p. 231.

each order of his new subjects should be represented in his parliament, that he might ensure their obedience. But he had also taken care, beforehand, to ensure to himself a great majority. All the bishops were absolutely devoted to him ; the knights-crusaders had no other interest than his ; the inhabitants of the country were intimidated ; and the statutes of Pamiers bear the impress of their oppression, and of the suspicions of the conqueror. Amongst fifty-one articles, some of which nevertheless are favourable to the peasants and lowest classes of society, we may remark the prohibition to rebuild any of the fortresses which had been destroyed, without the express permission of the count ; the order to all the catholic women, whose husbands were amongst the enemies of Montfort, to quit the estates under his dominion ; the order to widows, or heiresses of noble fiefs, to marry none but Frenchmen, during the space of ten years. These marriages, joined to the confiscations and new infeodations which Montfort granted to his creatures, multiplied, in the province, the noble families of the north of France, who adopted, in their legislation, the customs of Paris, and caused the extinction of the greater number of ancient families, who prided themselves on descending either from the Romans or the Goths.⁵

⁵ *Martene Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. i, p. 831 seq. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxii, ch. xxxiv, p. 233.

It was not in vain that the count of Toulouse took refuge with the king of Aragon, and implored his protection at the court of Rome. This king was held in high consideration by Innocent III, and had rendered great services to the church. He could not see, without regret, his two sisters, one married to the count of Toulouse, the other to his son, stripped of their inheritance by Simon de Montfort; or that all the princes of those provinces, the allies and the vassals of the crown of Aragon, should be ruined; that Simon should have refused to himself the service which he owed for his viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne; and that he had not permitted the other feudatories of the province to render it, even in those moments of danger when Spain appeared on the point of sinking under the invasion of the Almohadans; in a word, that he should destroy that dominion, which Don Pedro himself, and the princes of Aragon, his ancestors, had gradually obtained over the south of Gaul.

The ambassadors of the king, Don Pedro, at the court of Rome, did their utmost therefore to convince the pope that Simon de Montfort was only an ambitious usurper; that, whilst he invoked the name of religion, he thought of nothing but his own aggrandisement; that he attacked, indifferently, catholics and heretics; and that he had changed a crusade against heresy into a war of extermination against that Provençal nation of

which the king of Aragon prided himself in being the chief.⁶

Whether it was that Innocent III had been constantly deceived by his legates, and that the ambassadors of the king of Aragon shewed him the truth for the first time; or whether he felt some pity for the princes and people to whom he had already occasioned so much injury; or whether he at last began to suspect those whom he had rendered too powerful, and thought it more conformable to the policy of the church, to raise from the ground the rival of Simon de Montfort, and oppose him to his conqueror, than to complete his ruin; he entirely changed his language, in the letters, which, at the beginning of the year 1213, he wrote to his legates and to Montfort.

1213. The first of these letters, dated the 18th of January, is addressed to the legate Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, to the bishop of Riez, and to master Theodise of Genoa. In this letter Innocent III reproaches them with the murder of the viscount of Beziers, the usurpation of provinces, even where there was no heresy, and with the cupidity they had displayed throughout the whole war. He informs them that Raymond had surrendered himself, with his son and all his states, into the hands of the king of Aragon, de-

⁶ Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigen. cap. lxx, p. 635.—Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. xxxvi, p. 234.—In Marianæ Hist. Hisp. lib. xii, cap. ii, p. 557.

claring that he submitted entirely to the sentence of the church; that this king, in possession of such pledges, announced, on his part, that he was ready to execute the judgment of the church, which he awaited; that he engaged to provide that the son of the count of Toulouse, who had never been suspected of heresy, should be brought up in all the rigour of the catholic faith; and he undertook that the father should proceed to the the Holy Land, or to Spain, according as the pope should command, to combat the infidels, for the remainder of his days. Don Pedro, whose letter Innocent III almost entirely copied into his own, only demanded, that they should cease to preach the crusade against a country which had already submitted; that they should not continue to invite the French, by all their spiritual rewards, to exterminate the Languedocians; that, whatever determination Innocent III should take against the count of Toulouse, they should cease to confound the innocent with the guilty; and that, should they even find Raymond VI in fault, they should not, on that account, punish his son, who was not even suspected, or the counts of Foix and of Cominges, and the viscount of Béarn, who had been involved in the war only for having fulfilled their feudal duties towards the count of Toulouse, their lord. After having inserted in his letter almost the entire contents of that of the king of Aragon, Innocent III reproved his legates in a

language which they were not accustomed to hear from him. He reproached them with their cupidity and ambition ; he accused them of having shed the blood of the innocent, and of having invaded lands where heresy had never penetrated ; he commanded them to restore to the vassals of the king of Aragon, all that they had taken from them, that the king might not be diverted from the war which he was maintaining against the infidels. Two following letters, written by the pope to Simon de Montfort, are not less energetic, and shew no less that the atrocities of the war in Albigensis, were at last known at Rome.⁷

The king of Aragon obtained equal success in an embassy that he sent to Philip Augustus. He engaged this king to retain his son Louis, who was ready to set out for the crusade against the Albigenses ; he, at the same time, announced in the Isle of France, in Champagne and Burgundy, that the pope ceased to encourage this crusade, and exhorted the faithful rather to march to the relief of the Holy Land. The cardinal, Robert de Courçon, legate of the pope in France, declared himself against the continuation of the war ; so that the bishops of Toulouse and of Carcassonne, who were again going through the provinces of the North, to arm them against those of the South, found much difficulty in issuing their indulgences.

⁷ *Innocentii III Epistolæ lib. xv, ep. 212, 213, 214.—Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. xxxvi, p. 234.—Duchesne Script. tom. v, p. 730, 731.*

At the same time, a new provincial council was called at Lavaur, either to hear the justification of Count Raymond, or to accept the submission promised by the king of Aragon, and to establish peace in the province.⁸

1213. But Simon de Montfort had such zealous partisans in the bishops of the province of Narbonne, he had connected his cause so intimately with theirs, he had taken so much care to provide the monks of Citeaux, the principal instigators of the crusade, with all the pontifical sees which had become vacant, that he was sure of gaining his cause before such prejudiced judges as those to whom the pope had referred it. In fact, the authority of the holy see was never more completely set at nought by its agents. Innocent III had repeatedly given positive orders to the bishops of the province, to hear, and to judge of, the justifications of count Raymond; and the bishops assembled at the council of Lavaur, in the month of January, 1213, again explicitly refused to hear him, or to admit any of his justifications. They pretended that the count of Toulouse, by not executing all the orders they had given him before, and by causing the murder of nearly a thousand Christians, through the war which he maintained against the crusaders, had lost all right of pleading his cause. They even refused to extend the benefits of the pacification to the counts of Foix

⁸ *Petri Vallis. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. lxvi, et seq. p. 624.*

and of Cominges, and to the viscount of Béarn, whom they declared to be supporters of heretics. Above all, they insisted upon the necessity of destroying the city of Toulouse, and of exterminating its inhabitants, that they might complete the purification of the province. And, as they had this object more at heart than all the others, the fathers of the council first addressed a common letter to the pope, recommending it to him; and then, each prelate wrote to him separately, earnestly to press upon him the entire annihilation of that city, which they compared to Sodom and Gomorrah, and the destruction of all the villains who had taken refuge in it.⁹

The agreement of all these bishops with Simon de Montfort and his numerous friends, the authority of the crusaders, of all those who had previously marched to the crusade, and of all who still intended to do so, made an impression upon Innocent III. It was he who had, at first, excited the sanguinary spirits which then larded it over Europe; but he was himself, afterwards, the dupe of their concert. It was but too true, that the whole of Christendom then demanded the renewal of those scenes of carnage, that it prided itself on the slaughter of the heretics, and that it was in the name of public opinion that the fathers of Lavaur required new massacres.

⁹ *Innocentii III, lib. xvi, Ep. 40, 41, 42, 44, 45. Histoire de Languedoc, liv. XXII, ch. xlivi, p. 241.*

Those who had contributed to create such a public opinion were, however, on that account, only the more guilty. Innocent III, deceived by the echo of his own voice, thought that he had shewed too much indulgence. He wrote again to the king of Aragon, the 21st of May, 1213, to revoke all the concessions he had made, to accuse him of having taken advantage of the Roman court, by a false statement, and to confirm the excommunication of the counts of Toulouse, of Cominges, of Foix, and of the viscount of Béarn.¹

These negotiations, at the court of Rome, had on neither side suspended the preparations for war; but the number of the French crusaders had diminished, through the pains which the king of Aragon had taken to announce the pacification of the province, and through the declarations of the pope's legate himself. But the two bishops of Orleans and Auxerre, thought it, on this account, much more their duty to proceed to the aid of Simon de Montfort, and they joined him at Carcassonne with many knights from their province.² On the other hand, the king of Aragon, flattering himself that if his brother-in-law could obtain a victory over Montfort, he would, by this means, put an end to the vacillations of the court

¹ *Innocentii III Epist. lib. xvi, Ep. 48.* *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. lxiv, p. 126 et seq. *Concilium Vauriense in Labbei Concilia, t. xi, p. 81,* seq. *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles. 1213, § xxvi, seq. p. 221.* *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. li, p. 246.*

² *Petri Vall. Cern. cap. lxix et seq. p. 233.*

of Rome, passed the Pyrenees with a thousand knights, and came to join the counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Cominges. Don Pedro was at once a brave warrior, a skilful politician, and an elegant troubadour ; he was subject to no other reproach than that of too passionate a love for women. At this very time he wrote to a lady of Toulouse, that it was for her sake he was come to combat the French knights, that he should be indebted to her beautiful eyes for the valour which he should show in the battle, and that from them he should expect the recompense of his achievements. This was the language consecrated to the gallantry of the age ; nor is there any reason to believe, as some moderns have supposed, that the letter was addressed to one of his sisters married to the two Raymonds of Toulouse. It fell, however, into the hands of Simon de Montfort. *Our fortune is not doubtful*, he exclaimed, *God is for us. He has for him only the eyes of his lady.*³

The king of Aragon, having united his forces with those of the counts his allies, went to lay siege to the little town of Muret, three leagues distant from Toulouse, on the south-west. He arrived before it on the 10th of September. He had joined to his thousand knights of Aragon, those of the counts of Toulouse, of Foix, of Cominges, and of Gaston de Béarn, which might, at most, form a number equal to his own. But the

³ *Guillelmus de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxi, p. 678.*

cavalry of the Pyrenees could not, any more than that of Spain, be compared with the French cavalry, either in respect to the weight of the armour, or the strength of the horses. The Spaniards, principally accustomed to contend with the Mussulmans, had acquired their method of fighting ; and their squadrons more resembled light cavalry, than the heavy horse of the French. Simon de Montfort, who had assembled his troops at Saverdun, in the countship of Foix, had with him about a thousand knights, or serjeants at arms. These might be regarded as the flower of French knighthood ; they were men enveloped in iron ; and their bodies seemed as iron as their armour. Amongst them was distinguished, William des Barres, uterine brother of Montfort, the ancient rival of Richard Cœur-de-lion, and the most renowned of all the warriors of France. Many others, without equalling him in reputation, did not yield to him either in strength or courage. Amongst them all, not a heart could be found susceptible of terror, or accessible to pity. Equally inspired by fanaticism and the love of war, they believed that the sure way to salvation was through the field of carnage. Seven bishops, who followed the army, had blessed their standards and their arms, and would be engaged in prayer for them whilst they were attacking the heretics. Thus did they advance, indifferent whether to victory or martyrdom, certain that either would issue in the

reward which the hand of God himself had destined for them. Simon de Montfort, passing the Garonne at their head, entered, without any obstacle, into the town of Muret, and prepared for battle on the following day, the 12th of September.

The cavalry, at that time, formed the only force of armies. A warrior, entirely covered with iron as well as his horse, overturning the infantry, piercing them with his heavy lance, or cutting them down with his sabre, had nothing to fear from the miserable footmen, exposed in every part to his blows, scarcely armed with a wretched sword, and who had neither been exercised to discipline or danger. Nevertheless, it was the custom to summon these also to the armies, either that they might labour at the sieges, or that they might dispatch the vanquished, after a defeat. Simon de Montfort had assembled the militia of the cities which were subject to him ; Raymond, on his part, had caused the levies of the Toulousians to march, and these were much the most numerous. As it was afterwards attempted to find out something miraculous, both in the disproportion of number, and in the extent of the carnage, the historians of the church affirmed, that the militia, under the orders of the king of Aragon, amounted to sixty thousand men ; they allow, however, that they were not engaged.

Simon de Montfort, quitting, on the morning of the 12th of September, the gates of Muret, in or-

der to seek his enemies, did not march strait towards them, but kept along the side of the Garonne, from the eastern gate, so as to make it appear to the king of Aragon and his allies, who were also under arms, that his design was to escape. But, all at once, turning sharply upon the army of Don Pedro, he repulsed the count of Foix, who commanded the advanced guard, and encountered the body led by the king of Aragon himself. Two French knights, Alain de Roucy, and Florent de Ville, had agreed, unitedly to attack the king, to attach themselves wholly to his person, and to suffer no assailant to divert them from the pursuit, until they had killed him. Pedro of Aragon had changed armour with one of his bravest knights. But, when the two Frenchmen had, at the same time, broken their lances against him who wore the royal armour, Alain, seeing him bend under the stroke, cried out immediately, *This is not the king, for he is a better knight. No truly, that is not he, but here he is,* instantly replied Don Pedro, who was near at hand. This bold declaration cost him his life. A band of knights, who were waiting the orders of Alain and Florent, surrounded him immediately, and neither left him, nor suffered him to escape, till they had thrown him lifeless from his horse. As the French had anticipated, the death of the king of Aragon occasioned the rout of his army. Simon, who had remained at the head of the rear-guard of the cru-

saders, did not come up with his enemies till the news of this event had already circulated amongst them, and he profited by it to press, more vigorously, the three counts, and Gaston de Béarn, whom he compelled to flight. Arrived at the place where Don Pedro had fallen, and where his body was already stripped by the infantry of the crusaders, it is said, he could not forbear shedding a few tears; but this apparent compassion was only the signal for new displays of fury. He fell upon the infantry of the Toulousians, who had taken no part in the battle, and who, abandoned by their knights, could make no resistance against a powerful cavalry; and, having first cut off their retreat, he destroyed nearly the whole, either by putting them to the sword, or drowning them in the waters of the Garonne.⁴

⁴ Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. lxxi, et seq. p. 637. Litteræ Praetatorum qui in exercitu Simonis erant, *ibid.* cap. lxxiii, p. 641. Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxi, xxii, p. 678. Praeclara Francor. Facinora, p. 767. Bernardi Guidonis, p. 483. Historia de los faicts de Tolosa, p. 53. Chronic. o Comment, del rey en Jacme, cap. viii. Hist. gén de Languedoc, p. 249, et seq. liv. xxii, ch. lvi. Raynaldi Annal. Eccl. 1213, § 56, seq. p. 227. Joan. Marianæ Hist. Hisp. lib. XII, cap. ii, p. 558.

CHAP. III.

Submission of the Albigenses—Revolt and New War to the Death of Simon de Montfort, 1214—1218.

1214. THE activity of Simon de Montfort always seconded his unmeasurable ambition. He never estimated riches and power any otherwise than as they might promote the acquisition of still greater riches and power. He had never known any other relaxation from his victories than the preparation for new conquests. He had never understood any other way of rendering himself acceptable to God, than by shedding the blood of infidels, nor felt any other religious emotion than the delight of being the spectator of their torments. Nevertheless he gained no extraordinary advantages from the battle of Muret. The crusaders, after that great victory, thought their task accomplished, and their duty towards God fulfilled, so that they, with one consent, hastened to their homes. The court of Rome hesitated, for fear of rendering its creature too powerful. Philip Augustus indirectly placed obstacles to the zeal of the crusaders, by publishing an ordinance to limit their privileges. He no longer permitted them to withdraw from the defence of their country, by

abstaining from marching at their lord's summons, though he still left them the choice between service and payment. He no longer permitted them to decline the jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals, either when they were accused of crimes, or when they pleaded for their fief or their manor.⁵ Besides, the Catalans and the Aragonese were indignant at seeing the son of the king, whom they had lost, under the tutelage of him who had shed his father's blood. They had declared war against Simon de Montfort, and were preparing to attack him on the side of the Pyrenees, whilst their ambassador to Innocent III, was endeavouring to obtain the interference of the court of Rome, in defence of their independence. And they laboured so effectually, that Innocent III, by his letter of the 23rd of January, 1214, commanded Simon to restore the young Don Jayme to his subjects; which order was executed, at Narbonne, in the month of April following.⁶

A new legate, the cardinal Peter of Benevento, had this year come to the province. He had fixed his residence at Narbonne, and all the lords, who had been so ill treated in the last war, had flocked to him to obtain, by his intercession, their reconciliation with the church. Much more accommodating, at least in appearance, than his

⁵ Laurière, *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, tom. i, p. 32.

⁶ Innocentii III Epistolæ, lib. xvi, no. 171. *Histoire gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxii, ch. lxvii, p. 259.

predecessor, he re-opened, to them all, the door of the sanctuary. During the month of April, the counts of Foix, and of Cominges, were reconciled to the church ; the same grace was afterwards extended to Raymond VI, and, at last, to the inhabitants of Narbonne and Toulouse. It is true that by the oath which these lords, and the consuls of the cities, took to the legate, they resigned their bodies and goods to his disposal, without any guarantee ; they engaged to obey all his orders ; opened to him all their castles ; reserved no lordship ; nor made any stipulations in their own favour. Raymond, who had previously ceded all his rights to his son, withdrew, at the same time, from the Narbonnese castle, the ancient residence of the sovereigns, and went to dwell with his son, as a simple individual, in a private house at Toulouse, waiting the decision of the sovereign pontiff whether he should retire to the king of England, to the Holy Land, or to Rome.⁷

At the very time when the lords of the Albigenses were thus submitting themselves to the discretion of the church, a new army of crusaders, conducted by the bishop of Carcassonne and the cardinal Robert de Courçon, arrived at Montpellier. “ How great was then the mercy of God,” cries the monk of Vaux-Cernay, “ for every one

⁷ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. lxix, p. 261. Preuves, nos. cx, cxii, cxiii, p. 239 et seq. Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. lxxvii, p. 647. Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxiv, p. 680.*

may see that the pilgrims could have done nothing great without the legate, nor the legate without the pilgrims. In reality the pilgrims would have had but small success, against such numerous enemies, if the legate had not treated with them beforehand. It was then by a dispensation of the divine mercy, that whilst the legate, by a pious fraud, cajoled, and enclosed in his nets, the enemies of the faith who were assembled at Narbonne, the count of Montfort, and the pilgrims who were arrived from France, could pass into Agenois, there to crush their enemies, or rather those of Christ. O pious fraud of the legate! O piety full of deceit.”⁸

Nevertheless, this treason, which the pious cenobite celebrates with such enthusiasm, does not appear to have produced results, proportioned to the admiration with which it inspired him. The campaign was devoted to the besieging and taking of several castles of Quercy and Agenois, some of which made a pretty long resistance, and cost much blood to the crusaders. In the greater part they found no heretics, which reduced the soldiers of the church to the necessity of mournfully burning the castle, or at the most of only putting the inhabitants to the sword, as in an ordinary war. But at Maurillac they were more happy. “I must not pass it over,” says the monk of Citeaux, “that we found there seven heretics, of

⁸ *Petri Vall. Cern. Albig. cap. lxxviii, p. 648.*

the sect called Waldenses, who being conducted to the legate, and having confessed their incredulity, were seized by our pilgrims, and burned with unspeakable joy.”⁹

Simon de Montfort did not trust to his arms alone for making conquests. In 1214 he married his son Amaury, to Beatrice, daughter of Guigue VI dauphin of Viennois, in the hope that she would one day inherit Dauphiny; for this name had then been given to the heritage of the counts of Albon, which had passed into the house of Burgundy, and held from the kingdom of Arles; whilst those lords had taken the title of dauphins from their armorial bearings.¹ On the other hand, a provincial council, summoned at Montpellier for the month of December, but which did not commence its sittings till the eighth of January, 1215, was to determine the fate of the provinces, formerly occupied by the counts of Toulouse, of Béarn, and of Cominges, whom the cardinal legate had reconciled to the church, without explaining the conditions that he should impose upon them.²

1215. The inhabitants of Montpellier did not consider their lordship as one of those which the council, assembled in their city, had the right to

⁹ *Petri Vall. Cern. cap. lxxix, p. 649.*

¹ *Histoire de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. ix, p. 256, and ch. lxxi, p. 262.*
Histoire de Dauphiné, tom. i, p. 248.

² *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigen. cap. lxxxvi, p. 654.*

dispose of. The marriage of Mary, daughter of William VIII of Montpellier, with Don Pedro of Aragon, had, in 1204, subjected their city to the king, who had been recently killed at Muret. But the inhabitants of Montpellier possessed great privileges and a municipal government. For two centuries, at least, they had obeyed their own lords residing in their city, to whose houses they were strongly attached. Nor was it without regret that they saw themselves transferred to a distant monarch, who governed them negligently by a subaltern, and who on all occasions sacrificed their interests to those of his own subjects. When Don Pedro was killed, at the battle of Muret, they considered their connexion with the crown of Aragon as dissolved, and refused to acknowledge his son Don Jayme. At first they thought of forming themselves into a republic, after the example of the Italian cities, with whom they had constant commercial intercourse; but those cities acknowledged in the emperor a supreme lord, whose authority over them had been determined at the peace of Constance. The city of Montpellier thought it therefore right to place itself in the same relation to king Philip Augustus, the supreme lord of all France. They regarded him as too distant for them to fear any abuse of authority, whilst they flattered themselves, that his name alone would protect them both against the pretensions of the Aragonese, and, what was more to be

dreaded, against the ambition of Simon de Montfort. Philip Augustus, in fact, consented to take under his safeguard, for five years, the lives of the citizens of Montpellier, their goods, and their city. He made, however, this condition, that his protection should remain only as long as the pope should not give orders to the crusaders to attack them, for he was resolved not to oppose his authority to that of the church.³

It appears that the church formed no projects against them, and that there was no ground for regarding them as submitted to the jurisdiction of the crusade; but, their orthodoxy was not a sufficient security against the enterprizes of Simon de Montfort. When all the bishops of the province were assembled in council at Montpellier, to decide upon the sovereignty of the countries conquered by the crusaders, Montfort, who wished to direct that assembly, and who looked to it to legitimate those titles, which he held by perfidy and robbery alone, formed also the project of profiting by the conferences which he might have with the prelates, to obtain possession of the city of Montpellier. The citizens, who suspected his designs, would not permit his entrance into their city, and assigned for these conferences the house of the Templars, situated without their walls. But Peter of Benevento, cardinal legate, abusing the

³ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. lxviii, p. 260.* *Chartes de Philippe Auguste. Preuves, p. 238.*

respect with which his high dignity inspired the guards of the gates, took Simon de Montfort by the arm, mingled the two sons of that count, and a great number of knights, in his suite, and in this manner entered the city. However, when the citizens of Montpellier saw these knights marching, on horseback, through their streets, a universal cry, to take arms and defend their liberties, soon assembled them in crowds. They barricadoed the streets, and surrounded the church of Notre Dame, where the council was sitting, and Simon de Montfort thought himself happy to escape from the city through a by-way.⁴

This little check did not prevent Simon de Montfort from succeeding in the principal object of his ambition. The council of Montpellier was composed of five archbishops, of Narbonne, of Auch, of Embrun, of Arles, and of Aix, with the bishops their suffragans, to the number of twenty-eight. These fathers decreed, with a unanimous consent, as the monk of Vaux-Cernay assures us, that Simon de Montfort should occupy Toulouse, and all the other conquests which the Christian crusaders had made, and should govern them in quality of *prince and monarch of the country*.⁵ Count Raymond VI, who, before every thing,

⁴ Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albig. cap. lxxxii, p. 654. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. lxxvii, p. 266.

⁵ Petri Vall. Cern. Albig. cap. lxxxii, p. 654.—Concilia Generalia, tom. xi, p. 103.

and at any price, wished to be reconciled to the church, offered no resistance to this decree. He left to the monarch, his sovereign, the care of protesting against so strange an invasion of the secular power. He delivered the Narbonnese castle, the palace of the sovereigns, to the bishop Fouquet, who came with armed men to take possession of it, and went to lodge, with his son and the two countesses, at the house of a private individual of Toulouse, named David de Roaix. The prelate demanded, at the same time, hostages from the city, and caused to be delivered to him twelve out of the twenty-four consuls, whom he conveyed to Arles.⁶

The conquest of the province appeared to be compleated. The greater part of the Albigenses, with thousands of Catholics, had perished by the executioners. The light of the first reformation was extinguished in blood, and even Simon himself was much more occupied with governing his conquests, than with exciting new persecutions. But the movement impressed on the minds of the people, by the preachers of the crusade, did not cease with the suppression of heresy. There were no longer any Albigenses to sacrifice, but thousands of missionaries still continued to ramble about the towns and villages, stirring up the people, by promising them the joys of paradise in re-

⁶ Petri Val. Cernai, Alb. cap. lxxxi. p. 655.—Guil. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxiv, p. 680.

compense for the blood they should shed. This new method of gaining indulgences was so much more easy than the crusade to the holy land ; the expedition might be accomplished with so little fatigue, expence, or danger, that there was not a knight who did not wish to wash away his sins with the blood of the heretics ; and thus each spring produced a new swarm of crusaders. At the commencement of the year 1215, prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, wished, in his turn, to perform a pilgrimage, and to serve forty days against the Albigenses. He arrived at Lyons the 19th of April, with a much more considerable force than he could have assembled, if he had only been going to combat temporal enemies, such as the Flemings or the English. The bishop of Beauvais, the counts of Saint Paul, of Pontthieu, of Séez, and of Alençon, the viscount of Melun, the lords of Beaujeu, and of Montmorency had desired to participate, with a great number of knights of less illustrious names, in this work of sanctification ; and immense was the number of citizens, peasants, and adventurers, who had followed his standard, to live for six weeks at discretion in Languedoc, to pillage houses and castles, and to sing, in chorus, the hymn *Veni Creator*, around the stake at which the heretics were burning.

When Simon de Montfort and the legate were informed of the approach of this army, which was

marching against them although the war was terminated, and which had no country to ravage but that now become their property, they were greatly alarmed. They feared that Louis, if he once got into the country, would either defend the count of Toulouse, his near relation, or the rights of the crown, usurped by the council of Montpellier. Simon de Montfort went to meet him at Vienne, and from that time never quitted him. The legate, on his side, took care to inform the prince royal, that coming, as a crusader and pilgrim, into a country conquered by the crusaders, he neither could nor ought to oppose himself, in any thing, to the arrangements which had been made by the ecclesiastics.⁷

But the suspicions of these two ambitious adventurers were without foundation. Neither prince Louis nor his knights had any political object, but came into the south solely to fulfil their vows. He visited, in company with Simon, the cities of Montpellier, Beziers, Carcassone, and Toulouse; he permitted the count of Toulouse and his son to go and seek an asylum with the king of England; and returned by Montauban, at which place it appears that Simon de Montfort took leave of him.⁸

It was now two years since Innocent III had summoned, for the year 1215, an œcuménical or general council, in which the whole church should

⁷ *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albig.* cap. lxxxii, p. 656.

⁸ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxii, ch. lxxxi—lxxxvii; p. 268—273.

be called to decide the great interests which were then simultaneously in discussion. This, which was the twelfth of the general councils, and the fourth of those of Lateran, was composed of seventy-one metropolitans, of four hundred and twelve bishops, and nearly eight hundred abbots. Two of the patriarchs were present, and the two others were represented by their deputies. The two orders of the Franciscans, and the Dominicans, those terrible soldiers of the pope, received then the sanction of the universal church; a new expedition, for the defence and recovery of the Holy Land, was resolved upon, which was the fifth crusade; some heresies were condemned, and some canons established for the discipline of the church; and amongst them we ought particularly to remark the twenty-second, which imposed on each Christian, for the first time, the obligation of confessing himself once in the year, to receive the communion at Easter, and which transformed a habit of devotion into a duty, the observance of which was, from that time, enforced by the heaviest penalties. In fine, the council of Lateran put an end to the preaching of the crusade against the Albigenses, and disposed of the countries conquered by the crusaders.⁹

Count Raymond VI, his son Raymond VII, and the counts of Foix and Cominges, had all

⁹ Labbe *Concilia Generalia*, t. xi, p. 117. 240. Raynaldi *Ann. Ecclesiae* 1215, § i, c. xx, p. 241.

proceeded to Rome to plead their cause before the assembled church, whilst Simon had, on his part, sent his brother Guy de Montfort. The counts presented to the pope a recommendation from the king of England ; they threw themselves at his knees ; they exposed the crying injustice which Montfort had committed against them, in contempt of the pontifical authority itself. Many fathers in the council strenuously defended the persecuted counts ; they spoke, with execration, of the horrors committed in the province, and repeatedly reproached the bishop Fouquet with having destroyed more than ten thousand persons, of the flock committed to his care. Innocent III himself appeared touched. He expressed much good-will both to Raymond VI and his son ; but the greater number of the fathers were heated by the fanaticism of the crusade, and thought that all disfavour, showed to Montfort, would tend to the discouragement of the faithful ; and they at last agreed with the pope to publish a decree, which gave to Montfort the cities of Toulouse and of Montauban, the countship of Toulouse, and all the countries conquered by the crusaders, reserving to Raymond VII the countship of Venaissin and the marquisate of Provence. The decision respecting the countships of Foix and Cominges was adjourned ; but it appears, that the two counts were provisionably put into possession of their states.¹

¹ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 57, et seq. *Petri Vall. Cern. Hist.*

We have thus traced the total extinction of the first reformation. The slaughter had been so prodigious, the massacres so universal, the terror so profound, and of so long duration, that the church appeared to have completely attained her object. The worship of the reformed Albigenses had every where ceased. All teaching was become impossible. Almost all the doctors of the new church had perished in a frightful manner ; and the very small number of those who had succeeded in escaping the crusaders, had sought an asylum in the most distant regions, and were able to avoid new persecutions only by preserving the most absolute silence respecting their doctrines and their ancient destinies. The private believers, who had not perished by the fire and the sword, or who had not withdrawn by flight from the scrutiny of the inquisition, knew that they could only save their lives by burying their secret in their own bosoms. For them there were no more sermons, no more prayers, no more Christian communion, no more instruction ; even their children were not made acquainted with their secret sentiments.

1216. The triumph appeared so complete, that the persecutors, in the confidence of their victory, became divided, made war reciprocally against each other, and were ruined. We are about to see

Albigens. cap. lxxxiii, p. 658. Guil. de Podio Laurentii, c. xxvi, p. 681. Sententia de terra Albig. Concil. Gen. t. xi, p. 234. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. xcvi—c, p. 277.

their errors at the end of the reign of Philip Augustus, and, during that of his son, the relaxation of their vigilance, and the apparent resurrection of the sect which they had crushed. But, this momentary interruption to the persecution served only to render it the more destructive. After the extinction of the fire, some scattered sparks were still concealed under the ashes ; those who had laboured to extinguish it, by turning off their attention, permitted those sparks to kindle a new flame ; and this, having devoured all the combustible matter that remained, was then quenched in its turn. The momentary toleration in Albigois recalled thither the preachers and the sectaries who had escaped the first massacre, and involved them all in the second.

Thus the reformation, of which the church had so much need, the light which was to illuminate the mind, restore to morals their purity, and to reason its empire, was repelled for three whole centuries ; and even much longer with regard to those nations which spoke the romanesque languages. They had been the first to perceive the necessity of a better economy in the church ; and the light had appeared at the same time in Italy, in France, and in Spain.² The Paterins, the Waldenses, the Albigenses, had spread their instructions through all the countries which had been

² On the progress of the reform of the Albigenses, in the kingdom of Leon and Galicia, see *Jo. Mariana de rebus Hispan. lib. II, cap. i, p. 556.*

comprised in the western empire; whilst the intellect of the Germanic nations was not yet sufficiently advanced to admit the new doctrines. But, the greater part of those preachers of a purer morality having perished in the flames of the inquisition, the effort which the romanesque race had made for its amelioration having failed, its energy remained long exhausted; the chains which had been imposed upon it were drawn tighter by the very effort which had been made to break them; and when the new reformers appeared, in the sixteenth century, the doctrines, which they proposed to the people, had lost the attraction of novelty, and only awakened the terrors which the ancient chastisements had left in every soul.

The two first leaders of the crusade, those who had signalised their devotion by the greatest crimes and atrocities, the count of Montfort and the abbot Arnold of Citeaux, quarrelled about the division of their conquests. Arnold had seized upon the rich and powerful archbishopric of Narbonne, to which he pretended that sovereign rights were attached. Simon, in taking possession of the spoils of Raymond VI, had assumed the title of duke of Narbonne as well as that of count of Toulouse. In this conflict of jurisdictions, the inhabitants of Narbonne inclined towards the archbishop, which was a sufficient reason for Montfort to accuse them of being suspected of heresy, and to demand the demolition

of their walls. The archbishop opposed it; Simon entered the city by force, in spite of the opposition of Arnold, and displayed his ducal standard in the viscount's palace. On his part, the archbishop fulminated an excommunication against his ancient colleague, against that Simon de Montfort, who had gloried, on all occasions, in being the executioner of the excommunicated. During the time that Montfort remained at Narbonne, Arnold placed all the churches of the city under an interdict; a sentence to which Montfort payed no regard. The death of Innocent III, whose support Arnold had implored, and the succession of Honorius III, retarded the decision of this cause, and we know not how it terminated. Simon de Montfort continued, however, to bear the title of duke of Narbonne, and he threw down many parts of the wall of that city, into which he wished to have the power of entering at all times.³

Simon de Montfort's other capital, Toulouse, had no less aversion for its new lord. Simon quitted Narbonne to proceed thither, and summoned, for the 7th of March, 1216, an assembly of all the inhabitants, in the palace of the counts, to receive their homage and oath of fidelity. In return, he and his son engaged towards them, by an oath sufficiently vague, to observe all their franchises. Nevertheless, he appeared to trust much more to force, than to the affection of the

³ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxii, ch. ci, et seq. p. 281.*

inhabitants, for the guarantee of their obedience ; and for this purpose, he laboured with activity, on the one hand, to augment the fortifications of the Narbonnese castle, and on the other, to ruin those of the city and its suburbs.⁴ Whilst these two works were going on, he set out, in the month of April, for the court of Philip Augustus, to receive, from that monarch, the investiture of the fiefs which the crusaders had conquered. During all his journey he was received and honoured as the champion of the faith ; the most pious formed processions to meet him, and thought themselves happy if they could touch his garments. Philip, who was then at Pont-de-l'Arche, gave him the most favourable reception, invested him with the dukedom of Narbonne, the countship of Toulouse, and the viscountships of Beziers and Carcassonne, and acknowledged him for his vassal and liege-man.⁵ Raymond VI had, however, received the absolution of the church, and was reconciled to it; but though he was cousin-german to the king of France, brother-in-law to the emperor Frederic and the king of England, father-in-law to Sancho king of Navarre, and uncle to the kings of Castille and Aragon, he saw himself abandoned by them all ; or at least, if the king of England con-

⁴ *Guill. de Podio Laur.* cap. xxvi, p. 681. *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxii, ch. cii, p. 284.

⁵ *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. lxxxiii, p. 659. *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxii, ch. ciii, p. 285. *Preuves, ibid.* p. 252 seq.

tinued to show him some attachment, he could not render him any assistance.⁶

A part of Provence, which the house of Toulouse possessed under the title of marquisate, had been reserved by the council of Lateran to Raymond VI and his son. Those two princes, returning by Marseilles from that assembly, began by causing the Provençals to acknowledge their authority. They found their ancient subjects much more zealous for their cause, since they had experienced the exactions and arrogance of the count of Montfort and his Frenchmen. The council of Lateran had put an end to the crusade against the Albigenses. No more indulgences were preached, the pious were no longer invited to repair to the South, in order to massacre heretics already extirpated. Simon de Montfort was reduced to his own forces, or to the mercenaries whom he could enroll. Marseilles, Tarascon, and Avignon, had declared for the two Raymonds, and the younger, on taking leave of Innocent III, had received from this old pope, a sort of acquiescence in his attempting to recover his heritage by force. Raymond VII, by the aid of the Provençals, formed an army, with which he commenced his operations against Montfort; he began by the taking of Beaucaire, whose inhabitants opened their gates to

⁶ *Guill. de Podio Laur. cap. xxvii, p. 682. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. XXIII, ch. i, ii, p. 287, 288.*

him, whilst his father passed into Aragon, to seek for new succours.⁷

Raymond VII, though master of the city of Beaucaire, had not possession of the castle, where a French garrison still defended itself. He undertook the siege without suffering himself to be disengaged by the approach of Montfort, at the head of considerable forces. He was then only nineteen years of age, and he defended the city into which he had entered against that illustrious captain, whilst, before his eyes, he took the castle which Montfort came to relieve. In this double siege, signalised by actions of great valour, the Provençals made use of Greek fire, the composition of which they had learned in the Holy Land.⁸

Raymond VI had, on his side, raised an army in Aragon and Catalonia, and was approaching Toulouse, which had already declared openly in his favour. But, Simon de Montfort, who was thus attacked on two opposite frontiers, so that his enemies could not communicate together without great difficulty and loss of time, profited by this circumstance to conclude a truce with Raymond VII, and hastened to the defence of his capital. Raymond VI had not force sufficient to make head against him, and retired towards the

⁷ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxvii, p. 682.* *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, lib. xxiii, ch. i, ii, p. 287, 288.*

⁸ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa, p. 63 et seq.* *Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. lxxxiii, p. 659.* *Guill. de Podio, cap. xxviii, p. 682.* *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, p. 291.*

mountains. The Toulousians, terrified at the attachment they had shown to their ancient lord, sought pardon of Montfort. All the lords of the army supported their solicitations ; they advised him to exact the fifth, or the fourth of their moveable goods, and to content himself with this pecuniary punishment, which would fill his treasury, and give him the power of besieging Beaucaire anew. But Simon would listen to no other counsels than those of the ferocious Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, a prelate who knew no pleasure but that of shedding the blood of his flock. " And then," says the old historian of Toulouse, " spoke the bishop of Toulouse, and thus he said, and made him to understand, that he should do and finish what he had already determined against the Toulousians, assuring him that they would not love him ever so little except by force, and exhorting him to leave them nothing, if once he was within their city, but to take both goods and people as much as he could have and hold, for know, my lord, added he, that, if you do thus, it will be late before you repent of it."⁹

To preach ferocity, was not all the labour of the bishop Fouquet ; he took upon himself, besides, to facilitate, by perfidy, the execution of his counsels. He entered the city as a messenger of peace ; " In order that I may, said he to the count, make all the people come out to meet you,

⁹ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 78.

that you may seize and take them, which you could not do in the city." In fact he solicited his flock to apply, by successive deputations, of men, women, and children, to the count de Montfort, assuring them that this was the only means of appeasing him, and disarming his anger. The most considerable persons in the city thought they could not refuse to credit their pastor, who swore by the name of that God whom he was commissioned to preach to them, that his ardent charity alone dictated the advice which he had given for their welfare. Nevertheless, as the citizens of Toulouse arrived successively before Simon de Montfort, he loaded them with chains. Already more than eighty of them were in irons, when a citizen, whom they were going to treat in the same way, escaped from their hands and called his fellow-citizens to arms. The crowds who were proceeding from the gates to humble themselves before the count, fled back to the city; but rage soon succeeded to terror: they armed themselves, barricaded all the straits, and awaited the attack of Montfort. Already had his soldiers entered the less populous parts of the city. "Directed by the bishop," says our historian, "they had already pillaged and plundered the greater part of the said city, and violated women and girls in such numbers, that it was sad to see all the ill which the said bishop had done, in so short a time, to Toulouse." But, indignation redoubling

the force of the citizens, the pillagers were driven out with great loss. Three times the count, with his cavalry, charged upon the people, in different quarters of the city, and three times he was repulsed, with great slaughter. At last he threatened to put to death the eighty prisoners whom he had arrested. Fouquet, associating with himself, the abbot of Saint Sernin, again entered the City as a mediator. The two prelates demanded of the Toulousians, to surrender their arms and fortresses, engaging, by oath, that on these conditions, the count should release their prisoners, and neither touch their persons nor their goods, but protesting, that they had no mercy to expect, if they persisted in their rebellion. The bishop, Fouquet, and the count Simon appear, by this time, to have been so well known that their word inspired no confidence ; but the fearful danger of the hostages, the critical situation of the city, and more than all, the constant repugnance of the people to believe that the Lords and the priests would falsify their oaths, determined the Toulousians to submission. Mutual oaths were exchanged ; the arms were given up ; the fortresses were surrendered to the soldiers of Montfort ; and when the citizens had thus deprived themselves of all means of resistance, Montfort put the most considerable persons amongst them in irons, and sent them, with the prisoners whom he had before seized, into the principal castles of the province, where

they all perished, either by want or by a violent death. Then he commanded the rest of the citizens to pay him, before the 1st of the following November, the exorbitant sum of thirty thousand marks of silver, in order to ransom their city from the flames, and their persons from a universal carnage. There remained to the Toulousians no resource, and they were obliged to submit to these hard conditions.¹

1217. Simon de Montfort, who regarded all that his neighbours retained, as so much taken from himself, renewed the war in the following year, as well with Raymond Roger, count of Foix, with whom he disputed the restitutions he was enjoined to make, by the decisions of the council of Lateran, as with Raymond VII, then reduced to the possession of Provence. He besieged the son of the former, Roger Bernard, in Montgrenier, and, after six weeks, obliged him to capitulate.² He then engaged with the latter on the Rhone, and hanged all the inhabitants of the castle of Bernis, of which he had rendered himself master. Nevertheless, the citizens of Beaucaire and of St. Gilles resisted all his attacks, although these two places were part of the concessions made to him by the council of Lateran,

¹ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 78—81. *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens.* cap. lxxxiii, p. 661.—*Guil. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxix*, p. 683. *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. ix*, p. 292—294.

² *Hist. Albigens. Petri Val. Cern. cap. lxxxiv*, p. 661. *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xiii*, p. 296.

and confirmed by Philip Augustus. He was more fortunate in Valentinois, whither he afterwards carried the war. He had obtained there several advantages, when he learned that the inhabitants of Toulouse, indignant at the cruelty and perfidy with which they had been treated the preceding year, had secretly recalled, from Aragon, their count, Raymond VI, who on the 13th of September, had entered into his capital.³

The return of count Raymond VI gave occasion for a touching manifestation of the national sentiments which were cherished by the inhabitants of the South of France. This descendant of an ancient house, long signalised in the service of the cross in the Holy Land, possessed no qualities which could, properly speaking, be regarded as grand or heroic. He had shown neither distinguished talents nor force of character; he had early been induced to consent to what he disapproved, and to inscribe his name amongst those of the crusaders who came to ravage his country, and who secretly nourished the project of conquering his heritage. His submission to all the ecclesiastical censures, to all the outrages, to all the injustice, which the legates, the provincial councils, the pope, and the council of Lateran, had accumulated on his head, sufficiently indi-

³ *Hist. Albigen. cap. lxxxiv, lxxxv, p. 662.* *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxx, p. 683.* *Historia de los fuictos de Tolosa, p. 84 et seq.* *Histoire de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xviii, p. 299.*

cated either his weakness, or his superstitious fears; and his retreat from the Narbonnese castle, and then from Toulouse, was perhaps the effect of his timidity. But the people of all the province of Albigeois, did not forget that he had incurred the hatred of his oppressors, only by his indulgence towards them; that he had abhorred blood-shed and punishments, and that in spite of his promises, in spite even of the persuasion with which they had succeeded in inspiring him, that his religious duty, as well as his interest, demanded these persecutions, he had always checked the zeal of the executioners. His administration had been gentle; public liberty in the cities, commerce, manufactures, science, and poetry, had made rapid advances by his assistance and encouragement. If his civil character wanted force, he had at least given proofs that he possessed the courage of the warrior, and the talents of the general. His young son, Raymond VII, already rendered illustrious by high exploits before his twentieth year, appeared, with a more experienced constancy, and a loftier character, to promise a happier reign.

But the two Raymonds became still more dear to the people, by their contrast with Simon de Montfort and the crusaders. It was not the zeal of the Albigensian heretics which was awakened for the house of Toulouse; their church was drowned in blood, their race had disappeared, their opinions

had ceased to influence society; but in their name the other parts of the population had been the objects of martyrdom. Hundreds of villages had seen all their inhabitants massacred, with a blind fury, and without the crusaders giving themselves the trouble to examine whether they contained a single heretic. We cannot tell what credit to give to the numbers assigned for the armies of the cross, nor whether we may believe that in the course of a single year five hundred thousand men were poured into Languedoc. But this we certainly know, that armies, much superior in number, much inferior in discipline, to those which were employed in other wars, had arrived, for seven or eight successive years, almost without interruption, upon this desolated country; that they entered it without pay, and without magazines, that they provided for all their necessities with the sword, that they considered it as their right, to live at the expense of the country, and that all the harvests of the peasants, all the provisions and merchandise of the citizens, were, on every occasion, seized with a rapacious hand, and divided at discretion, amongst the crusaders. No calculation can ascertain, with any precision, the dissipation of wealth, or the destruction of human life, which were the consequences of the crusade against the Albigenses. There was scarcely a peasant who did not reckon in his family some unhappy one, whose life had been cut off by the

sword of Montfort's soldiers; not one but had repeatedly witnessed the ravaging of his property by them. More than three-quarters of the knights and landed proprietors had been spoiled of their castles and fiefs, to gratify some of the French soldiers—some of Simon de Montfort's creatures. Thus spoiled, they were named *Faidits*, and had the favour granted them of remaining in the country, provided they were neither heretics, nor excommunicated, nor suspected of having given an asylum to those who were so; but they were never to be permitted to enter a walled city, nor to enjoy the honour of mounting a war-horse. Every species of injustice, all kinds of affronts, persecutions of every name, had been heaped on the heads of the unhappy Languedocians, whom, since the crusade, it had been the custom to comprehend under the general name of Albigenses. Simon de Montfort was, to them, the representative of the evil spirit; the prototype of all the persecutions they had endured. The name of Raymond VI, on the contrary, was associated with those happier times, when they enjoyed their possessions in peace, and when they could witness the daily increase of knowledge, industry, and liberty.

The terror which Simon de Montfort had inspired was, however, too profound to allow of the reception of Raymond VI, at Toulouse, without hesitation. He approached that city at the head of an army which he had raised in Spain, and

which had been increased by the junction of the counts of Foix and of Cominges. Arrived at Salvetat, four leagues distant from his capital, he had put to flight a body of troops which, under the standards of Montfort, had just pillaged the castle of Mazeres. He continued his march, and on the 13th of September found the gates of Toulouse open ; but, though he was equally wished for by almost all the inhabitants, the most timid had shut themselves up in the Narbonnese castle, and in different convents, with the wife and daughters-in-law of Simon de Montfort, that they might not be accused of having favoured their ancient master. A new victory, obtained by Raymond VI over Guy de Montfort, Simon's brother, on the plains of Montolieu, emboldened the most fearful, and united all the citizens of Toulouse around their count. Soon, all the most valiant knights of Quercy, Albigeois, and Carcasses, who professed an ancient attachment to the house of St. Gilles, were seen entering their city with standards displayed, and trumpets sounding. Amongst them were remarked, Gaspard de la Barthe, Roger de Cominges, Bertrand-Jourdain de Lille, Geraud de Gourdon, Lord of Caraman, Bertrand de Montaigu and his brother Gaillard, Bertrand and Guitard de Marmande, Stephen de la Valette and Aymar his brother, Gerard de la Mothe, Bertrand de Pestillac, and Geraud d'Amanieu. Each of them was followed by all the serjeants-at-arms,

on horseback, whom he could collect, and the entry of this brilliant cavalcade into the city was welcomed with transports of joy ; and even those who had hitherto concealed themselves were now inspired with resolution.⁴ Simon de Montfort, informed of this revolution, hastened to conclude a truce with the young count Raymond, to repass the Rhone, and return by forced marches towards Toulouse ; but a part of his army was composed of levies made in that country, and no Langue-docian served him except through fear. As he advanced, and the news from Toulouse was spread amongst his soldiers, he saw himself deserted by all those whose hearts had remained faithful to their country, and their ancient lord. Near to Basiège he met count Guy, his brother, who was coming to join him. The two Montforts agreed to hasten an attack upon Toulouse, before the walls of that city had been rebuilt, and whilst the citizens hesitated between affection and fear. They advanced, therefore, with ladders, as far as the edge of the ditch ; but, at that moment, a discharge of cross-bows put them in disorder, and Guy de Montfort, with Guy his nephew, count of Bigorre, both fell, dangerously wounded. Simon was then compelled to renounce the project of taking the city by surprise, and he resolved, towards the end of September, to undertake a re-

⁴ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 88. *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albig.* cap. lxxxv, p. 663. *Guill. de Podio Laur. c. xxx, p. 683. Histoire gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xix, p. 299.*

gular siege. In consequence of this resolution, he divided his troops between himself and his son Amaury, in order to attack the city, at the same time, on each side of the river. Nevertheless, he suffered himself to be surprised by the count of Foix, was pursued as far as Muret, and near being drowned at the passage of the Garonne, in the very place which, four years before, had been signalized by his most glorious victory, and was obliged to bring back his troops in front of the Narbonnese castle, where he joined his son.⁵

All the other cities of Albigeois appeared ready to follow the example of Toulouse. The rebellion was, however, extinguished at Montauban, by the seneschal of Agenois, and the bishop of Lectoure, who commanded for Montfort: the city was pillaged and burned; but this act of severity only served to redouble the hatred of the Languedocians against the French. Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, was dispatched into France with James de Vitry, the historian of the last combats of the Holy Land, to preach there a new crusade, whilst the countess of Montfort repaired to the court of Philip Augustus, to solicit his aid. Simon had recourse also to pope Honorius III, who, in fact, wrote to the king of Aragon, to dissuade him from an alliance with the count of Toulouse.⁶ But

⁵ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 92.

⁶ *Honorii III, Ep. 823, 826, 827; apud Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1217, § lviii, p. 269.*

time was requisite before these different measures could form a new army for the heroes of the crusade. The siege, in the mean time, proved very tedious : it was prolonged through the winter, and lasted nearly nine months. The cardinal legate, who shared with Simon the conduct of the army, never ceased reproaching him with his slowness, and attributed his want of success to a failure of zeal or courage. In the mean time, the besieged had the advantage in numbers and boldness over the assailants ; every day they darted from their walls upon the enemy, and caused them great loss. The 25th of June, 1218, the Toulousians, in a sortie, pushed towards a warlike machine, (a cat) which count Simon had just constructed. This count was at the church when he was informed that the besieged were in possession of his machine, and about to set fire to it. He wished, however, to finish the hearing of the mass before he proceeded to battle ; but, at the moment of the elevation of the host, he cried like Simeon, *Let thy servant henceforth depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.* He called for his arms, put himself at the head of his old warriors, and once more repulsed the Toulousians. He was standing with his battalion, before the wooden tower which he had just reconquered, when an enormous stone, thrown by a machine from the wall of the city, struck him on the head, and extended him lifeless on the ground. The moment

that his death was known by the Toulousians, a cry of joy resounded through the city. All ran to arms, and rushed upon the besiegers with redoubled fury. They drove them beyond their tents and equipages, took possession of a part of these effects, and destroyed the rest.⁷ Amaury de Montfort collected together the scattered soldiers of his father, received the homage of his knights, and their oath of fidelity as successor to Simon in the countship of Toulouse, and for a whole month obstinately persisted in the siege of the city, to which he endeavoured to set fire. But his army was discouraged, and daily diminished in number, whilst the forces and the ardour of the besieged were augmented. He was at last obliged, on the 25th of July, to determine on raising the siege, and to retire to Carcassonne, where he buried the body of his father.⁸

⁷ *Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. lxxxvi, et ultim.* p. 664. *Guil. de Podio, cap. xxx,* p. 684. *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa,* p. 93. *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xxviii,* p. 303.

⁸ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xxix,* p. 105. *Chronol. Roberti Alissiodor.* p. 285.

CHAP. IV.

Crusade of the French against the Albigenses, from the death of Simon de Montfort to the death of Louis VIII, 1218—1226.

THE death of Simon de Montfort marks one of those epochs, not unfrequently met with in history, when the historians all forsake us at once; so that although the events themselves continue their course, it becomes very difficult to exhibit their connexion. Curiosity, it is true, ought at the same time to diminish; for when all the writers, as if by common consent, lay down their pens, the reason must be that either fatigue or exhaustion has reduced the nations, if not to an absolute stagnation, at least to a state of languor, in which nothing strongly excites the mind.

The reign of Philip Augustus had been, with regard to France, more fertile in historians than that of any of his predecessors. But Rigord, the first of these, does not pursue his recital beyond the year 1209. William l'Armorique, the king's chaplain, and perhaps, the best amongst the writers of the age, finishes his chronicle in 1219. Nevertheless he outlived Philip, and in the poem which he wrote also in honour of the same king,

he relates his death and obsequies. Peter de Vaux-Cernay's history of the Albigenses ends with the year 1218, at the death of Montfort; the anonymous author of Toulouse, in 1219; and the oriental history of James de Vitry, closes in 1220, soon after the taking of Damietta; so that, in every part, the curtain seemed to have fallen upon that great political drama, which had attracted the eyes of Europe.

1217—1221. The fifth crusade, which was commanded by the council of Lateran, formed, during several years, the grand subject of interest to christendom; on the one hand, it attracted to itself the whole crowd of knights and soldiers, who had been accustomed to subsist either by their hire or by pillage, to seek the strong excitement of war, and to consider security and repose as a state of suffering; and on the other, it procured some respite to the count of Toulouse. The warlike devotion of the French had resumed its first direction towards the east, and the efforts of the bishop Fouquet, to excite new fanatics to the massacre of the Albigenses, remained almost without effect.

1218. The descent of the crusaders into Egypt was followed by more than a year of bloody combats, in which the Musulmans had obtained, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, such small success, that they offered to surrender Jerusalem to the Christians, provided they would

agree to evacuate Egypt. The pride of the legate Pelagius, cardinal of Albano, who had undertaken to conduct the army, led him to reject these propositions. He thought he had made a valuable acquisition when, on the 5th of November, 1219, his army entered Damietta, on the walls of which no more defenders were to be seen. The priests, who accompanied the soldiers of the cross, wrote triumphantly to all Christendom, that eighty thousand Musulmans had perished in the city; that there remained only three thousand inhabitants when they took possession of it; and that, with the exception of three hundred, whom they had reserved for the ransom of some Christian prisoners, these captives had themselves ceased to live.⁹

1220—1221. Nevertheless, if the capture of Damietta delivered incalculable treasures to the cupidity of the Christians, the unburied bodies, which filled all the houses, soon communicated to their soldiers a fearful pestilence. This brilliant army rapidly melted away by mortality and desertion. John de Brienne, indignant at the insolence of the legate, who had dared to excommunicate him, quitted Egypt to return to St. Jean-d'Acre; and at the same time a great number of the crusaders set out for Europe. The legate Pelagius foolishly took that moment to conduct

⁹ *Bernardi Thesaur.* cap. cc, p. 837. *Matt. Par.* p. 259. *Jacobi de Vitriaco,* lib. iii, p. 1141. *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.* 1219, § xv, p. 292.

the remainder to the siege of Cairo, and obliged the king of Jerusalem to join him there. The communications of the Christian army with Damietta were soon cut off; all the dikes of the Nile were thrown down at the time of the inundation, and the Christians, without provisions, and with the water up to their waists, were indebted to the generosity of Malek-el-Kamel for a capitulation, by which they surrendered Damietta on the 30th of August, 1221, and abandoned Egypt.¹

1218—1219. This crusade, for the recovery of the Holy Land, by affording some respite to the count of Toulouse, enabled him to establish himself in the government of the provinces of which he had regained possession. The young count Raymond VII, who had joined his father, was received into Agenois with the most lively expressions of joy, and he afterwards passed through the greater part of Quercy and Rovergue. In the month of November, 1218, he visited also the city of Nimes. At the same time, count Amaury de Montfort exerted himself to the utmost, to retain his father's conquests. He caused himself to be acknowledged, amongst other places, by Albi, a city which had given its name to these religious wars, and which had nevertheless performed but a small part in them.² The court of Rome did

¹ *Bernardi Thesaur. cap. ccvi, p. 843. Matt. Par. p. 264. Raynaldi Annal. Eccles. 1220, § lv, p. 309 ; 1221, § x, p. 311.*

² *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xxxv, p. 397.*

not see, without regret, the destruction of that work which Innocent III had accomplished at so vast an expence. Honorius III took count Amaury under his most active protection, and, to establish him in his conquests, diverted in his favour the half of the twentieth which had been imposed, in the name of the crusade, upon the clergy of France.³

1219. Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, did not yield in fanaticism, or in hatred against the heretics, to any of the monks who were his father's subjects. He gladly took upon himself that new expedition against the Albigenses, to which the twentieth had been destined. Peter Mauclerc, duke of Brittany, the count of Saint Paul, thirty other French counts, more than twenty bishops, and six hundred knights, took the cross to follow him, accompanied by ten thousand archers. With these forces, Louis joined count Amaury de Montfort, before the castle of Marmande which he was besieging, and the defence of which was undertaken by count Centulle d'Astarrac.⁴

The old count Raymond VI had thrown all the cares of war and government upon his son, Raymond VII. Worn out with grief, and weakened

³ *Epistolæ Honorii III, in Duchesne Scr. tom. v. p. 854, 855.* *Raynaldi Annal. 1218, § 54, 55, p. 286.*

⁴ *Guil. de Podio, cap. xxxii, p. 685. Historia de los faictos de Tolosa, p. 98, seq. Guil. Armoricus, p. 113. Philippidos, lib. xii, p. 276. Chronicum Turonense apud Martene collectio amplissima, tom. v, p. 106. Chronic. Guil. de Nangis, p. 507.*

by superstition, he feared, by resisting the church, to subject himself to anathemas still more terrible than those under which he had so long suffered. Nevertheless, the two counts of Toulouse had endeavoured in vain to induce Philip Augustus and his son to abandon the support of Montfort, and to accept of them for their feudatories, who were also their near relations and faithful vassals. Perhaps it was to leave the door open to these negotiations, that Raymond VII would not, in the first instance, march to the assistance of the castle of Marmande. He preferred extricating the count of Foix, Raymond Roger, from his difficulties, who was besieged in Basiège by two of Amaury's lieutenants. Raymond VII, having joined the count of Foix, attacked his enemies in concert with him, and obtained a victory which was attributed to his personal valour. In this victory of Basiège the principal officers of Amaury remained his prisoners.⁵

But, whilst Raymond was vanquishing the crusaders at Basiège, Louis and Amaury were pressing the siege of Marmande. They made an assault upon this place, by which they obtained possession of the exterior works, and this induced the besieged to offer to surrender, if their lives and baggage were spared. “ I will receive you to mercy, said Louis, and suffer you to go away, car-

⁵ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 96. *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiii ch. xli, p. 310.

rying only your bodies with you." The besieged accepted these conditions, and presented themselves immediately at the tent of the king's son, to salute him, and surrender themselves to him. But when the bishop of Saintes saw the count d'Astarrac and his knights enter the tent of Louis, he said to the latter, "Sire, my advice is, that you immediately kill and burn all these people as heretics and apostates, and that none of them be left alive; and then, that you do neither more nor less to those of the city." The count of St. Paul and the duke of Britanny, however, exclaimed against this attempt of the man of God, in his holy zeal, to cause the son of the king of France to violate his word. The archbishop of Auch added, that these prisoners and the inhabitants of Marmande were by no means heretics, any more than count Raymond, and that the church treated him very hardly, in not receiving him to mercy, when he submitted to its will. He reminded them, besides, that a great number of high barons and knights were prisoners at Toulouse, and that by violating a capitulation, to which they had sworn, they exposed them to terrible reprisals. "My lords," said prince Louis, "I do not wish to injure the church, but neither ought I to do injury to the young count or his people." He then permitted the captain Centulle d'Astarrac who had commanded at Marmande, to proceed with his gendarmes wherever he might think proper. But,

during this time, Amaury de Montfort had entered into Marmande, and had given command to execute the work which the bishop of Saintes had recommended in order to procure the blessing of God upon their arms. All the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of five thousand, were massacred. Louis, after testifying some displeasure against Amaury, for having thus violated the royal promise, proceeded with him, towards Toulouse, to lay siege to that capital.⁶

The news of the massacre at Marmande, instead of damping the courage of the Toulousians, convinced them that they had no hope of deliverance, but from the most determined defence. Bertrand, cardinal priest of St. John and Paul, whom Honorius had appointed in 1217 his legate in Albigeois, had sworn, "that in the said Toulouse, should remain neither man, woman, boy, nor girl, but that all should be put to death, without sparing any, old or young; and that, in all the city, there should not remain one stone above another, but all should be demolished and thrown down." This oath had been related to count Raymond, who, on the approach of the crusaders, summoned all his friends and allies to his defence. In fact, a thousand knights, well armed and mounted, entered Toulouse to share his fortunes. Each gate,

⁶ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 99. *Guil. Armoricus*, p. 113. *Præclaræ Francorum facinora*, p. 773. *Histoire gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiii et xlvi, p. 311.

and each *barbican*, or counterfort, was specially confided to three or four of the most illustrious knights, with their servants at arms. The defence of the seventeen gates was thus provided for, and each chief had sworn “ well and truly to defend his post, towards and against all, both for life and death.” The capitouls, or magistrates of Toulouse, on their parts, presented themselves before the young count and his knights, and declared to him, “ that henceforth they abandoned all that they had, both bodies and goods, to those who had remained with them to defend their city ; they besought him to spare them in nothing which should be needed, both for strangers, and familiars, and friends, and they would expect their wages to be paid according to their will.”⁷

1219. These generous preparations for defence, were crowned with entire success. Louis arrived before Toulouse on the 16th of June, with Amaury de Montfort and the cardinal Bertrand : he very soon traced a line of circumvallation, and began the attack with vivacity, but found in every part a resistance superior to his means. He lost a great number of men, by the sword of the enemy and by sickness ; very soon divisions crept into his camp, whilst the most zealous cried out treason, as soon as they heard any of the crusaders

⁷ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, pp. 100, 101. *Guil. de Podio*, cap. xxxii, p. 685. *Præclara Francorum facinora*, p. 773. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiii, ch. xlivi, p. 312, and note xix, p. 568.

speak of moderation. In addition to this, the troops of Louis were engaged only for the feudal service of forty days: this term was already expired, and he felt at last the impossibility of retaining them longer. He, therefore, resolved, on the first of August, to abandon or burn his war-like machines, to raise the siege, and retire with precipitation.⁸

1220. The yoke of the house of Montfort and its lieutenants was become so much the more insupportable to the people of the South, as the religious zeal of the crusaders preserved them from no crime. The two brothers, Folcaud and Jean de Brigier, the most celebrated amongst Amaury's captains, were not less signalized by the infamy of their manners, than by their devotion. In their seraglio were found married women taken from the most respectable persons in the province: they had fixed at a hundred sols d'or the ransom of their prisoners, and they suffered all those who could not pay this exorbitant sum to perish with hunger at the bottom of a tower. Raymond VII had the happiness, in 1220, to take these two monsters prisoners, and he caused their heads to be cut off, as a punishment for so many crimes.⁹ About the same time the cities of Montauban and Castelnau-dari drove out Montfort's garrisons, and raised the standard of Raymond VII. Beziers

⁸ *Historia de los faicts de Tolosa*, p. 301. *Chronic. Guil. de Nangis*, p. 507.

⁹ *Guil. de Podio Laur. cap. xxxiii*, p. 685.

also, with all its viscountship, returned to its allegiance to the young Trencavel, son of the ancient lord of that city, and to the count of Foix, his tutor. To stop the progress of rebellion, Amaury came, at the beginning of July, 1220, with Guy, his brother, count of Bigorre, to lay siege to Castelnau-dari. Guy de Bigorre was killed there the 27th of July, and his body was honourably sent to count Montfort, by Raymond VII who had shut himself up in the place. Amaury obstinately persisted, for eight months, in the siege of Castlenaudari, and thus completely exhausted himself both of men and money. He was at last compelled to raise the siege in the beginning of March 1221, and to retire to Carcassonne, which was almost the only place remaining to him of all his father's conquests.¹

1221. About the middle of the summer, Amaury again took the field, and was with his army at Clermont upon the Garonne, when he was informed that the inhabitants of Agen had entered into a treaty with the house of Toulouse. He sent for their consuls to meet him on the first of August; he granted them a complete amnesty for all the faults they might have committed; he engaged also, for the future, to grant them the reatest privileges, but could inspire them with

¹ *Guil. de Podio, cap. xxxi, p. 684. Praeclara Francor. facinora, p. 772. list. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. xlvi, p. 314. and Note xxi, p. 69.*

no confidence. The people had learned what this count was capable of, when he was the strongest, and they regarded this moderation as only a proof of his weakness. Before the end of the month of August, 1221, Agen had opened its gates to Raymond VII.²

Cardinal Bertrand felt it a reproach to himself that, during his legation in Albigeois, these provinces, where the church had shed so much blood, had all returned to their ancient masters. The faithful appeared disgusted with the crusaders; the bishops could no longer succeed in exciting fanaticism; the legate therefore endeavoured to establish a body more completely devoted to the destruction of the heretics and the lukewarm. With the authority of pope Honorius III, he instituted *the order of the holy faith of Jesus Christ*, to combat and annihilate those who do not profess an ardent faith for the church and a blind obedience to all the secular powers. We have the letters patent of Peter Savaric, *humble and poor master of the militia of the order of the faith of Jesus Christ*, dated at Carcassonne, 9th February, 1221, by which he professes that the vows of his order are “to promise aid and succour to Amaury de Montfort and his heirs, for the defence of his person and domains; and to engage to discover and destroy heretics, and rebels against

² *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. lvi, p. 318, Preuves, p. 271. Privilége de Raymond VII, à la ville d'Agen.*

the church, and all others, christians or infidels, who shall make war against that count."³ In the events of our days, we have seen the *Santafedisti*, or knights of the holy faith, figure in Italy and Spain, professing the same doctrines, engaged by similar vows, and whose actions, as well as their language, recall to mind the crusade of the Albigenses.

Honorius III did not depend alone upon the knights of the faith to succour Montfort. He addressed himself afresh to Philip and Louis, to whom he granted, as the price of an expedition against the Albigenses, a new twentieth, to be levied upon the clergy. But Louis having, with this money, collected an army, conducted it into the domains of the king of England in Aquitaine and Poitou, instead of attacking the count of Toulouse. But French and English historians are equally silent with regard to the events of this campaign.⁴ Honorius also addressed the different bishops of France, and particularly the archbishop of Sens, of Rheims, and of Bourges, engaging them to inquire after, to seize, and burn, those of the Albigensian heretics, who had sought refuge in their provinces.⁵ This severity obliged a great number of the unfortunate Languedocians

³ Héliot, *Histoire des ordres religieux*, tom. viii, p. 286. et seq. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiii, ch. lii, p. 316. Raynaldi *Ann. Eccles.* 1221 § xli, 316.

⁴ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiii, ch. liv, p. 317.

⁵ Raynaldi *Annal. Eccles.* 1221, § xlvi, p. 316.

who were dispersed to great distances, to return to their country, in the hope that they should be protected by the same men who, on every side, had risen against the house of Montfort and the church.

1222. In reality, during the year 1222, the sectaries, who had been driven out for their faith, found themselves sufficiently numerous in the places where their fathers had suffered, to give them the hope of renewing their instructions, and of organizing their church. If we may credit the registers of the inquisition at Toulouse, about a hundred of the principal Albigenses held a meeting at a place named Pieussan in Rasez, and Guillabert de Castres, one of their ancient preachers, who had escaped the researches of the fanatics, presided. This assembly provided chiefs for the desolated churches the ancient directors of which had perished in the flames. Three new preachers, described in these registers by the titles of bishop of Rasez, of *elder son*, and of *younger son*, received, from Guillabert de Castres, imposition of hands, and the kiss of peace. The monks of Saint Dominic abandoned, at this moment, by the secular power, were reduced to the necessity of only noting these circumstances in their books, against the day of vengeance.⁶

In the mean time Amaury de Montfort was losing the hope of entering into possession of his

⁶ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. lvii, p. 319.*

father's conquests. The inhabitants of the small number of castles which still remained to him, were watching an opportunity to revolt and signalise their vengeance by the massacre of some of his friends. Montfort could not reckon on the fidelity of any man who spoke the Provençal language, whilst the sword was always suspended over the head of all his servants who used that of the French. His countship of Montfort, and all his patrimonial possessions were exhausted of men and money; that fanaticism appeared extinct which had furnished so many recruits to his father. All the bulls of Honorius III were no longer able to bring a single crusader into Languedoc, and all those who wished to engage in the sacred war, either passed into Egypt or to the Holy Land. Discouraged, disgusted with the war, affrighted at the universal hatred of which he saw himself the object, Amaury sent the bishops of Nismes and of Beziers, to Philip Augustus, to offer him the cession of all the conquests of the crusaders in Albigeois; and at the same time made application to the pope, for his assistance in obtaining from the king the most favourable conditions.⁷

Honorius III wrote to Philip Augustus, on the 4th of May, 1222, advising him to accept the offers of Montfort; and representing to him, that it was his bounden duty towards Christendom, to

⁷ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. ix, p. 320.*

extirpate the heresy which was beginning again to spring up in his kingdom ; assuring him at the same time, that if he sent a powerful army into the South, he would be recompensed for the pains he should take *to purge the land of these sectaries*, by the acquisition of the rich fiefs which were offered to him by the church.⁸ But Philip Augustus had at this period lost all the spirit of enterprise and the activity of his youth ; he was frozen with age and sickness ; he held out the possibility of an approaching war with England, since his truce with Henry III would terminate in 1223, and refused to enter into any negociation either with Montfort or the pope.⁹

Whilst these things were going on, Raymond VI was almost suddenly taken from his family by a malady with which he was seized in the month of August, at Toulouse. From the first attack of this unknown disease, he lost the use of his speech. He preserved, however, sufficient recollection to give many signs of contrition ; amongst other things, he was frequently seen, during his agony, to kiss the cross upon the mantle of the hospitalers of St. John, with which he was covered. He had devoted himself to this order, at the time of the persecution of which he had been the object, and all the misfortunes he had experienced had not sufficed to extinguish his devotion. He had

⁸ Raynaldi Ann. eccles. 1222, § xliv, p. 325.

⁹ Preuves de l'Histoire de Languedoc, no. cxlii, p. 276.

given abundant alms to the priests and the monasteries ; he had shown himself scrupulous in the accomplishment of all the practices of piety; and when he was under excommunication he was seen to remain for a long time on his knees in prayer, at the doors of the churches which he dared not enter. But, the monks reproached him with feeling some pity for the heretics ; with taking no delight in the torments which they inflicted upon them ; with having even frequently withdrawn the sectaries from punishment. They persecuted him for his compassion, not only during his life, but even for ages after his death. His son could never obtain the honours of sepulture for his body, but his coffin was deposited near the burial ground of St. John of Toulouse, waiting the permission of the church for its interment. It was still there in the fourteenth century ; but, as it was only of wood, and no one took care for its preservation, it was broken, and his bones dispersed before the sixteenth century. The skull alone of Raymond VI was long preserved in the house of the hospitalers of St. John of Toulouse.¹

1223. The death of the count of Toulouse was speedily followed by that of Raymond Roger count of Foix, the bravest of his vassals, and who had perhaps the most contributed to the recovery of

¹ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. lxiii, p. 322 et seq., et Note 37,*
p. 593. Guil. de Podio Laur. ch. xxxiv, p. 686. Bernardi Guidonis Vita
Honorii Papæ III, p. 569.

his states. The count of Foix had not embraced the faith of the Albigenses, but it appears that his wife and many persons of his family belonged to this sect, and that he had himself, if we may believe the registers of the inquisition, sometimes assisted at the conventicles of the sectaries, but without making abjuration. He was then, in the eyes of the church, more guilty than the count of Toulouse, but they had, notwithstanding, treated him with more indulgence, because the conquest of his country was judged more difficult. He died in the end of March, or the beginning of April, of the fatigues he had endured at the siege of Mirepoix, which envenomed an ulcer that had long tormented him.² The death of these two counts did not, however, weaken the cause of toleration. Raymond VII was at least twenty-five years old, at his father's death. He was beloved by his subjects, whom he had governed for many years; he inherited the talent of his ancestors for war, and added to it more firmness of character than his father possessed, and more skill in government. Roger Bernard, who succeeded to the sovereignty of the countship of Foix, had, on his part, signalised himself, for a long time, and on many occasions, against the crusaders, and he showed himself neither less valiant, nor less at-

² *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. lxx, p. 330.* *Extraits de l'archive de l'Inquisition de Tarcassonne, Preuves ibid. p. 437 et seq.* *Bernardi Guidonis Vita Honorii III, p. 569.*

tached to the count of Toulouse, than Raymond Roger.³

1223. These two princes, therefore, having resolved entirely to drive Amaury de Montfort from the province, besieged, in the spring of 1223, la Penne in Agenois, and Verdun upon the Garonne. The pope had sent a new legate into Albigeois, Cardinal Conrad, bishop of Porto, who wrote to all the bishops of France, to demand succours, whilst Amaury approached la Penne with the hope of intimidating the two counts, but was soon obliged to feel the inferiority of his forces. As his troops were deserting him, and he ran the risk of falling into the hands of his enemy, he made propositions of peace. A thought was even entertained of causing Raymond VII to marry a sister of Amaury, and, upon these overtures, a truce was signed between the two parties. Raymond, as confiding as he was loyal, hesitated not upon this assurance, to put himself into the hands of the hereditary enemy of his family. He entered into Carcassonne, and passed a whole day with count Amaury. Through a pleasantry, which served still to increase his danger, perceiving that his attendants were alarmed for his imprudence, he caused them to be informed that he had been arrested, during the night, at Carcassonne, and upon this news, all his guard whom he had left without the city took to flight. The two counts only

³ *Hist. de Languedoc, lit. xxiii, p. 328—330.*

laughed at the terror of these soldiers. They separated like men of honour ; but, not being able to accomplish a reconciliation, recommenced hostilities at the end of the armistice.⁴

1223. At this same epoch, Cardinal Conrad convoked a provincial council, in the city of Sens, to deliberate on the affairs of the Albigenses ; and one of the motives which he alleged for the church putting itself into a posture of defence against the heretics was, that, according to his statement, they had set up a chief or pope, who had established himself upon the frontiers of Bulgaria, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, and of Hungary. He added, that a great number of Christians, and even bishops, in those countries, had acknowledged his authority ; that the dispersed Albigenses had resorted to him, and received his decisions as oracles ; and that one of them, Barthelemy de Carcassone, had returned into his country with the authority of a legate, and arrogated to himself the right of naming new bishops.⁵

There is reason to believe, in fact, that the opinions of the Paulicians had been, for the first time, spread in the West, through Bulgaria. The letter of Cardinal Conrad indicates, that there still existed a connection between the sectaries of the two countries, and that those of the Sclavonian

⁴ *Guil. de Podio Laur. cap. xxxiv, p. 686.*

⁵ *Matt. Paris. p. 267. Martene Thesaur. anecdot. t. i, p. 900. Concilior. Labbei, t. xi, p. 288, et seq. Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1223, § xxxix, p. 333.*

language, to whom, two centuries later, we are indebted for the reformation of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had opened an asylum, and offered succours, to the persecuted Albigenses. But, it is not probable that the sectaries had given themselves the same organization as the church of Rome, which they opposed. The papists could conceive of no church without a pope ; but he, whom they imagined in Bulgaria, and even whose name they do not tell us, disappeared without leaving a successor.

The chief object which the cardinal legate, and Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had proposed to themselves in the convocation of this council was, to alarm the conscience of Philip Augustus, and to determine him to send, at last, a powerful army against the Albigenses, and thus to accept the offers of the count of Montfort ; but Philip seemed to have contracted, in the last years of his life, a political timidity, which accorded with the progress of his age, and the decline of his health ; and which caused him to reject every occasion of aggrandizing himself at the expense of his neighbours. William de Puy-Laurent assures us, upon the authority of Fouquet, the atrocious bishop of Toulouse, that Philip said to the bishop—" I know that after my death, the clergy will prevail upon my son Louis to take part in the affairs of the Albigenses ; and, as he is weak and delicate, he will not be able to bear the fatigues, and will

die in a little time. Then the kingdom will fall into the hands of women and children, and will be thereby much endangered." This prophecy, nevertheless, which afterwards was often repeated, may have been given after the event.⁶

At the time when the bishop Fouquet was impressing, upon Philip Augustus, the necessity of putting all the Toulousians to the sword, it became necessary to attend much more to the politics of his successor, than to those of the reigning monarch. A quartan fever which had commenced towards the middle of the summer of 1222, was continually reducing the strength of the king. It lasted him during a whole year, but did not prevent him from continuing his short journeys to inspect the works which he had ordered. Philip Augustus loved architecture, and monuments ; many of the kings his predecessors had built churches, but he was the first to ornament France with civil architecture. The communes had, for a long time, surrounded themselves with walls for their own defence ; the lords had, on their part, carefully fortified their dwellings ; whilst, on the contrary, the cities, towns, and villages, which belonged to the crown, had been scandalously neglected. Philip undertook to surround them all with walls, he did it however with a respect to the rights of individuals, to which they had not been accustomed on the part of the

⁶ *Guil. de Podio Laur. cap. xxxiv, p. 687.*

receivers of the revenue ; for he always purchased the houses which it was necessary to pull down, and the land that was wanted for the public service. He was able, during the forty years of his reign, to finish all these walls, and thus gave a guarantee, both to the safety of the state and to the police, which had not been known before this time.⁷

These immense undertakings, did not exhaust the treasures of Philip Augustus. He had established order in the finances, and as his reign had been the epoch of a prodigious increase in the population, industry, commerce, and agriculture of France, the royal revenues had augmented with that prosperity. But the king's treasure was regarded as his private and personal property. All that he had economised, all that he had drawn from the people, and had not employed in governing them, belonged so entirely to himself, that far from being obliged to leave it to his country, he did not even feel an obligation to leave it to his children. It is true, that the priests had taken care to inculcate this doctrine, of exclusive property, into the hearts of kings. They had all agreed to tell them, that if, at any time, princes were guilty of overwhelming with their extortions the poor contributors, of ruining widows and orphans, or of refusing afterwards to the public necessities the money which they had collected by

⁷ *Guil. Armorici Philippidos, lib. xii, p. 279.*

iniquitous measures, one way of compensation was still offered them, a way which would change all their crimes into so many virtues, and would thus insure their salvation, by the very consequences of their evil deeds; this was to dispose, in favour of the church, of all the money they had thus accumulated. Philip Augustus made his will, upon these principles,⁸ in the month of September, 1222. He named for his executors, Guarin, bishop of Sénlis, Barthelemy de Roye, and brother Aymard, treasurer of the temple, and assigned to these testamentary executors twenty-five thousand marks of silver, which then equalled fifty thousand livres, and which, at this day, would amount to twelve hundred thousand,⁹ that they might, according to their consciences, make restitution whenever the king had done any injustice. Philip Augustus bequeathed to the king of Jerusalem, to the hospitalers and templars, fifty thousand marks of silver each, that this king, and those two military orders, might each maintain, in

⁸ *Rex cum repletus esset divitiis*, says the canon, author of the chronicle of Tours, *Christum in his hæredem suum constituens, inaudita munera elargivit*, t. xviii, p. 303.

⁹ Philip says expressly, in this will, that the mark was worth two livres, or forty sous of Paris. The livre, of half a mark or four ounces of silver, was then equal to the present louis; for the crown of six francs weighs an ounce. This was the metallic value, but its value in exchange was much greater since we see, by the same testament, that a priest could be decently maintained for twelve livres of Paris equal to 288 francs per year. It is probable that these 288 francs would procure as many enjoyments as we might obtain, at this day, for 600 francs. *Testamentum Philippi in Archivio regio, Pluteo i, 503, No 1, annexed in a note to Guillelmus Armoricus*, p. 114.

return, for three years, one hundred additional knights in the service of the Holy Sepulchre: he assigned to them also considerable sums to assist in preparing them to pass the sea the year following. He bequeathed twenty thousand livres to Amaury de Montfort, to be employed in the extirpation of the heresy of the Albigenses; for it was neither from scruple of conscience, nor from a sentiment of humanity, that he had himself always refused to march against those sectaries.¹ He bequeathed to the abbey of Saint Denys, all his crowns and jewels; to the abbey of Saint Victor, which he had built near the bridge of Charanton, two thousand livres, and two hundred-and-forty livres annually, which were to suffice for the maintenance of twenty priests; he left twenty-one thousand livres to the poor of Paris, and only ten thousand to Isemburge his wife, and ten thousand to his natural son Philip. The sum which he destined to his eldest son remained blank in his will, apparently that he might receive what remained in his treasury after all his other legacies had been paid.²

1223. In spite of the king's malady, the council which had been convoked at Sens to instruct him by its advice, assembled there in July, 1223. It was composed of six archbishops, and of twenty

¹ The legacy to Montfort mentioned by *Armoricus* p. 116 was probably added in a codicil. It is not found in the will.

² *Guil. Armoricus*, p. 114.

bishops, with a great number of abbots. Fouquet bishop of Toulouse was the only one of the Albigensian prelates who was present. Philip Augustus had promised to be there, but perceiving that his declining health would render the journey dangerous, he very soon demanded that the council should be transferred to Paris, and set out himself on his return to the capital. The violence of his illness retained him at Mantes, where he died the 14th of July, 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. The prelates assembled for the council added to the pomp of his obsequies; the legate and the archbishop of Rheims, being unwilling to cede to each other the supreme rank, officiated at the same time, at two different altars. After this unusual ceremony Philip Augustus was interred at Saint Denis.³

Count Amaury de Montfort profited by the truce which he had recently concluded with the count of Toulouse, to attend the council of Sens, and he was therefore at court at the accession of Louis VIII. Louis, before he set out for Rheims, paid to Amaury ten thousand marks, in part of what his father had bequeathed to that lord, to

³ *Guil. Armor.* p. 116 et finis. *Philippidos*, lib. xii, p. 280, usque ad finem. *Chronique de St. Denys*, p. 416. *Matt. Paris*, p. 267, et *Hist. de France*, p. 758. *Bernardi Guidonis Vita Honorii III*, p. 569. *Guil de Nangis Chron.* p. 513. *Raynalui Annal. Eccles.* ann 1223, § xxxiii, p. 332. *Radulphi Coggeshale Chron. Ang.* p. 116. *Rog. de Hoveden. cont.* p. 187. *Ann. Waverleiens*, p. 209. *Chronic. Turon.* p. 303.

assist in maintaining his garrisons in Albigeois ; and at the same time hinted to him, that he should be disposed to make an exchange with him, for the conquests made by the crusaders, and engaged him to break off all negociation with Raymond VII. After having received this subsidy, the count of Montfort set off for Carcassonne.⁴

When he arrived there that city was already attacked by the counts of Toulouse and of Foix, who had brought with them the young Trencavel, then sixteen years of age, the only son of that Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers and of Carcassonne, whom Simon had so barbarously put to death. Amaury, having collected an army with the money he had received from Louis VIII, compelled the Languedocian lords to raise the siege : but his money was soon expended, and the mercenaries assembled under his standards, declared that their services should cease when their pay was discontinued. In vain did Amaury solicit, by turns, the bishops of the province, the citizens of Narbonne, and his own knights ; in vain he offered to pledge his French domains, and even his person ; he could neither find money, nor retain his soldiers. He was, after a short time, again shut up in Carcassonne, by the counts of Toulouse and of Foix ; and losing, at last, all hopes of resistance, he signed, on the 14th of January, 1224, a convention with them, by which

⁴ *Epistole Honorii III ad Ludovicum ; apud Duchesne, tom. v, p. 860.*

he engaged to use all his efforts to reconcile the two counts with the church and the king of France. He delivered to them, by this treaty, Carcassonne, Minerva, and Penne d'Agénois; he stipulated an armistice, of two months, for six small places that still belonged to him in the province, with a guarantee for the rights of individuals, acquired during the war, and received ten thousand silver marks for the expences of his journey. The next day, 15th of January, 1224, he set out for the North of France with all the knights devoted to his fortune, abandoning for ever the country where his house had reigned fourteen years.⁵

1224. The young Trencavel, still under the government of the count of Foix, took possession of the four viscountships of Carcassonne, of Beziers, of Rasez, and of Albi, over which his father had reigned. But, at the same time, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishop of Nismes, of Usez, of Béziers, and of Agde, retired to Montpellier; either fearing the vengeance of those to whom they had occasioned so much evil, or wishing to give themselves the appearance of being persecuted. From thence, they wrote, eight days after, to Louis VIII, begging him not to confirm the peace which had been negociated “ Not to permit the unclean spirit, who had bee-

⁵ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. lxxxii, p. 336. Le traité au preuves, no. 148, p. 285 et la lettre de cinque évêques au Roi, p. 286.*

driven from the province of Narbonne, by the ministry of the roman church and his own, to return, in all his power, with seven spirits more wicked than himself, but rather to employ the power which he had received from God, in acquiring the territory which the church had offered him.”⁶

Louis VIII appeared, indeed, eager to signalize the commencement of his reign, by the conquest of Albigeois. Amaury de Montfort, having arrived at Paris, ceded to him, in the month of February, all the privileges, which the church had granted to his father and himself, over the countries conquered by the crusaders. He exchanged them for the post of constable of France, which Louis promised to Amaury.⁷ But this treaty was conditional and was not to have effect unless the roman church should accept the conditions which the king had offered by the archbishop of Bourges and the bishops of Langres and of Chartres.⁸

The church appeared to desire, with so much ardour, the extirpation of the house of Saint Gilles, and of all who had shewn any tolerance towards the heretics, that Louis had no doubt of obtaining from the pope, if he took the cross, all the advantages which he demanded for a recom-

⁶ *Episcoporum Epistolæ, Preuves à l'Hist. de Languedoc, no. 150, p. 289.*

⁷ *Guil. de Podio Laur. cap. xxxiv, p. 687.*

⁸ *Cessio Amalrici Preuves Languedoc. no. 152, p. 290.*

pense. He required that the crusade should be preached anew throughout all France, with the express mention, that the indulgences should be fully equal to those which might be gained by the crusade to the Holy Land. He required, at the same time, that those who would not follow him, from devotion, should be obliged to do it in the fulfilment of their feudal duties, as if the kingdom were subject to a foreign invasion; for no invasion, said he, is more fearful, than that of heresy. Consequently, he demanded that all the French barons who refused, on this occasion, to accomplish the service of their fief, should be excommunicated, and their lands put under an interdict. To be more sure of the direction of these ecclesiastical thunders, he demanded that the archbishop of Bourges should be assigned him as cardinal legate, with full powers over Albigeois. He required the pope, by letters patent, to deprive, for ever, the count of Toulouse, the viscount of Carcassonne, and of Beziers, and all those who should be allied to them, or should make war in concert with them, of all the fiefs they might have in the kingdom of France, and to invest, with them, for ever, the king and his descendants: lastly, he required that, in order to finish this conquest, the church should guarantee to him, for ten years, the truce then existing with the king of England, and should, during the same time, pay him sixty thousand livres of Paris each year; de-

claring, that if all these conditions were not accepted, he should consider himself under no obligation to pass into Albigeois.⁹ The popes have, in general, preferred the European crusades, which tended directly to extend their authority, to those of the Holy Land, which had rather augmented than diminished the independence of the human mind. Nevertheless, they could not set themselves in open opposition to the opinion of Christendom; and besides, they frequently shared the fanaticism which they had tended to excite. At the very moment when Honorius III received the propositions of Louis VIII, he had well-founded hopes of repairing, by a new crusade, those disasters of the Holy Land which had so recently tarnished the glory of his pontificate. The emperor Frederic II had been engaged to Yolande of Jerusalem, daughter of Jean de Brienne, and the kingdom of Judea had been promised for her portion. Frederic, who was sovereign not only of Germany and Upper Italy, but of Sicily and Calabria, could, with more ease than any other European prince, transport the crusaders from his own ports to that of Saint Jean d'Acre. He had embraced with ardour the project of conquering Syria, to add it to his other possessions; and on the 5th of March had written to the pope, from Catena, a long letter, both to give him an account

⁹ *Petitio ad Papam pro reg. Preuves de l'Hist. de Languedoc*, No. 155, p. 292.

of his preparations, and to engage him to remove the obstacles which the situation of France and England interposed to the renewal of the sacred war. “The king of Jerusalem,” said Frederic, “has recently written to us from Germany, that he was going to quit that country, seeing that he had there advanced but little the interests of the Holy Land. In truth, the missionaries who preach the cross there are so slandered by every one, both because they are men of the lowest rank, and because they have no authority to grant indulgences, that nobody will listen to them. Other letters, that we have received from different parts of the world, and from the highest and most powerful personages, state, that we are accused, as well as the church, of proceeding with indifference in that affair. The grandees of France and England, as we have been informed by the king of Jerusalem, do not appear desirous of taking the cross, unless a long truce be concluded between the two kingdoms, and they are assured of going and coming in peace. Many of the most powerful amongst those that have taken the cross, even pretend that they have dispensations from you from going to the Holy Land.”¹

Honorius III had already given his assent to the propositions of Louis VIII, and the prelates who were his ambassadors, had returned to France, when the pope received the letter of

¹ *Epist. Frederici II, in Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1224, § iv—ix, p. 337 seq.*

Frederic II. He could not doubt that the preachers of the crusade in Albigeois were those who had traduced the characters of the vendors of indulgences, and that the persons whose service in the Holy Land he was reproached for having dispensed with, were such as he had encouraged to convert their vows into an expedition of forty days on the banks of the Garonne. How could he, without dishonouring himself, take this moment for publishing, that such a short campaign, without expense, difficulty, or danger, was a work as meritorious as the crusade which the Emperor was preparing to lead against the enemies of Christianity? The extent of the preparations that Louis was making, for the war against the Albigenses, sufficiently showed, that he would not suffer a single Frenchman to pass to the Holy Land, if that war continued. Honorius therefore dispatched the cardinal bishop of Porto, to Louis, recommending him to use the greatest diligence, to communicate the Emperor's letter, to withdraw the consent he had given to their treaty, and to inform him that the count of Toulouse, terrified at the preparations of the king of France, had consented to submit, entirely, to the church, by purging his province of heretics, according to the mode which the mercy of the inquisition had adopted. The good of the Holy Land, added the pope, demanded, that he should be contented with these guarantees, and that he should grant

peace to Raymond VII in the hope that he would henceforth act with equal vigour and sincerity.²

Louis VIII thought that he had made himself sure of all the support of the church; he had already written to those communes whose assistance he reckoned most upon, to announce to them that he would march with his army three weeks after Easter, and requiring them to support him vigorously.³ He was, therefore, exceedingly enraged, when he saw himself thus abandoned by the pope; he wrote to him with much ill humour, and having in his letter recapitulated all that he had done already at the persuasion of the church, he finished with these words; “ We have replied to the cardinal bishop of Porto that since the lord pope would not, at present, attend to our reasonable demands, we considered ourselves discharged from the burden of this business, and we have protested as much publicly, before all the prelates and barons of France.”⁴

Raymond VII endeavoured to profit by these favourable circumstances, to make his peace with the church. He was earnestly supported at Rome by the ambassadors of the king of England; and had friends in the college of cardinals, who advised him to pursue his advantages in arms, whilst he negotiated with the pope.⁵ Whilst, therefore,

² *Honorii III epist. apud Duchesne, tom. v. No. xvii, p. 895.*

³ *Epist. Lud. VIII Narbonnensis Preuves de l'histoire de Languedoc, No. cliii, p. 291.*

⁴ *Idem. § clv, p. 294.*

⁵ *Epistola episcop. Lichfieldens. Rymer acta publica tom. i, p. 271.*

he took possession of Agde and of several castles, he charged his ambassador at Rome to dispense money liberally in the sacred consistory, in order to gain new partisans ; and at the feast of Pentecost, he went to Montpellier, to hold a conference with that same Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, who had done so much evil to his father, as legate of the first crusade against the Albigen-ses.⁶

The count of Toulouse felt how important it was to conclude his pacification, whilst they were still willing to negociate with him. He showed himself therefore eager to give way upon every article. As he had always been sincerely attached to the faith of the church, it cost him nothing to promise conformity to it in future ; but he engaged, besides, to show no mercy to the heretics ; to grant to count Montfort such conditions as might save his honour ; to augment the immunities of the churches ; to surrender to them those parts of his domain with which they had been gratified by his enemies ; and even before he had obtained any guarantee, he executed a part of these restitutions. Arnold, embarrassed by this unhesitating compliance with all his demands, knew not how to contrive to retard a pacification which seemed to be concluded. He adjourned, however, the conferences, to the 21st of the following August, de-

⁶ *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, ch. lxxxix, xc, p. 340.*

claring that he must wait for new orders from Rome, to sign the definitive treaty.⁷

Rome, on the reception of his letters, was no longer in the same disposition. Frederic II had retarded his departure in such a manner as to occasion doubt to Honorius III, respecting the success of the crusade to the East. War had broken out between the kings of France and England, and that war presented a still greater obstacle to the impulse which the pope had hoped to give to all Europe. Whilst he was in doubt respecting the turn which all these events might take, the holy father thought it imprudent to accept the submission of a prince, whom he might perhaps soon have a favourable opportunity to crush. By his persuasion, or that of the king of France, Amaury de Montfort sent no one to Montpellier with powers to accept the indemnities offered by the count of Toulouse. Raymond, nevertheless, insisted, that the absence of this envoy could not hinder the conference, agreed upon between him and the archbishop of Narbonne, from taking place. On the 25th of August he renewed, to that prelate, the promises which he had already made to the church; he signed them, and engaged by oath to observe them. After which, Arnold, to gain time, communicated to him an express order of the pope, to send those declarations to

⁷ *Gallia Christiana, nova editio, t. vi, p. 336. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. XXIII, ch. xc, xci, p. 341.*

Rome by a solemn embassage, and, at the same time, informed him, that Honorius III had manifested the most violent wrath at learning that Raymond VII had retaken, from the bishop of Viviers, the city of Argentiores, which had belonged to the house of Saint Gilles, but had been taken from his father by the crusaders.⁸

1224. The ambassadors of Raymond arrived at Rome in the month of October. They were admitted to several conferences, and the ambassadors of England seconded them with all their power. But the court of Rome was superlatively skilled in the art of spinning out negotiations. At the end of the year, they had discussed much and concluded nothing. In the course of the following year, they thought themselves equally occupied with their master's interests, because that every day new explanations were demanded, and every day they removed new difficulties. It was not till 1226 that they found out how they had been tricked, when they were dismissed without any thing being granted them.⁹

1224. The truce between France and England, which Louis VIII had wished to prolong for ten years, expired at Easter, 1224; but Henry III desired its renewal much more sincerely than the king of France. He had given orders to make

⁸ *Honorii III Epistolæ Decano Valentiniensi, Preuves Languedociennes, No. clxxxvii, p. 284.*

⁹ *Histoire gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii, p. 343. liv. xxiv, p. 345.*

compensation for all the damage which had been caused by his subjects to French merchants, and, at the same time, had ordered an inquest, to ascertain also the damage which his subjects had experienced ; for, in those ages of violence, there were but few treaties scrupulously respected.¹ He had also sent ambassadors to the king of France, to demand that the truce, concluded by Philip Augustus, should be prolonged for four years, on the same conditions.² Honorius III, on his side, had solicited Louis VIII to conclude a peace with the king of England ; or, at least, to bind himself by a long truce. He represented the advantage this would prove to the Holy Land, by removing an obstacle to the expedition of Frederic II.³ But, whether Louis, from the displeasure which arose from the ill success of his negotiations respecting Albigeois, wished to humble the pope ; or, whether he desired to employ the preparations he had made for the war with Raymond, against another enemy, he announced to Henry III the renewal of hostilities, who, on his side, gave notice of it on the 15th of May, to all the barons of his kingdom, and invited them to be ready for war.⁴

Honorius III, who protected the king of England, who had quite recently declared him of

¹ *Rymer Acta Publica*, t. i, p. 265, 266.

² *Ibid.* p. 270.

³ *Honorii, lib. viii, Epist. No. 380, apud Raynaldi Ann. Eccles.* 1224,
§ xiii, p. 338.

⁴ *Rymer Acta Publica*, t. i, p. 272.

age, and in consequence, had ordered all his counts and barons to restore the towns and fortresses which they held as a guarantee for their safety, would also have gladly restored him to the full exercise of absolute power, and abolished the great charter. But when he perceived that the nation adhered strenuously to its rights, and was prepared to defend them,⁵ he wrote to Henry III to engage him to observe his oaths, until he should find a more favourable occasion to violate them; “We suggest in particular to his highness, said he, and council him, *in good faith*, not to bring forward the rights of the crown, just at this time, and not to scandalize his subjects respecting the restitution of his revenues, but prudently to defer to a better opportunity this pretension, and others which might engender scandal.”⁶ Henry III, however, did not follow the counsel which the pope boasted of having given with such *good faith*. He entered into disputes with the earl of Chester and the greater part of his barons; he attacked Foulques de Brent, and his brother, in their castles; he hanged the defenders of several fortresses, and appeared to have some success in his English expeditions; but his whole army was occupied in retaining his subjects in their obedience, and he had no soldiers to send into France.⁷

⁵ *Matt. Paris Hist. Angl. ann. 1223*, p. 268.

⁶ *Honorii III Epist. lib. viii, ep. 355. apud Raynaldi, 1224, § xliv. p. 345.*

⁷ *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang. p. 270. Radulphi Coggeshale, p. 118. 120.*

When Savary de Mauléon, who was charged to defend Poitou, was informed of the approach of Louis VIII with a numerous army, he in vain demanded reinforcements and subsidies, for the treasury was empty. The counsellors of Henry III judged, however, that they could not dispense with embarking, at the tower of London, boxes apparently filled with money, to inspire the soldiers with the confidence that they would very soon be paid; but when these chests were opened upon their arrival at Rochelle, they were found to be filled with stones and bran.⁸

The campaign of Louis VIII, against the former possessions of the kings of England in France, was speedily terminated, and left him time to meet in the beginning of November, at Vancoulours, Henry king of the Romans, eldest son of Frederic II. These two princes signed a treaty of alliance, and reciprocally engaged to conclude no arrangement with the king of England without the consent of both.⁹

1225. In the beginning of the year 1225, the cardinal Romano di Sant. Angelo, was sent by the pope to Louis VIII to renew the negotiations respecting the Albigenses. The zeal of Frederic II for the conquest of the Holy Land was cooled, or, at least, the difficulties of the undertaking, the

⁸ *Gesta Ludovici*, viii, p. 305. *Chron. Turon.* p. 305.

⁹ *Martene collectio amplissima*, tom. i, p. 1195. *Gesta Ludovici*, p. 307. *Chron. Turon.* p. 306.

revolts which were continually breaking out in Germany and Italy, the need which every part of his states had of reform, and of the inspection of the monarch, made him desire to defer his voyage to a more convenient time. The king of Jerusalem had undertaken to obtain from Honorius III that the crusade should be postponed for two years. The state of the Holy Land, where the Christians possessed but two cities, could not suffer from this delay. Honorius consented ; he adjourned till August, 1227, the departure of Frederic II ; but at the same time imposed upon him the condition of conducting at that period a determinate number of troops to the Holy Land, and of passing at least two years in Syria.¹

These two years might suffice to annihilate completely the house of Saint Gilles, to which the church thought it imprudent to pardon the injuries she had done it. Raymond VII refused no sacrifice ; disputed respecting no condition ; he only demanded, for the repose of his conscience, and for that of his subjects, to be received again into the bosom of the church. He abandoned the heretics to all the rigours which she desired to exercise towards them ; and the learned, the equitable Benedictine author of the history of Languedoc, not being able entirely to free himself from the sentiments of his order, repels, *as an atrocious calumny*, the charge that he demanded

¹ Raynaldi Annal. Eccles. 1225, ch. i, et seq. p. 346.

liberty of conscience for the Albigenses.² But no reconciliation was possible, between this prince and those who could only be satisfied with his absolute ruin. Raymond at last thought he had removed all the difficulties which had been opposed to him, when the cardinal Romano de Sant. Angelo published against him a bull, to which it was impossible to reply, as it was impossible to understand it. It contained only the miserable conceits and witicisms of the Vatican. "The miserable state, or rather the established misery of the Narbonnensis province, and of the neighbouring regions," said the pope; "has long tormented us with anxiety, and suspended us in doubt. In our anxiety, we sought whether we could not find a way and manner to raise the interests of the faith and of peace, which appeared absolutely cast down in these countries ; in our doubt we hesitated whether this land was not so corrupted, that all labour which we could bestow upon it would be useless....In truth, this land though laboured with much sweat—though sweated with much labour—has been in vain forged by its smith, for all its malice has not been consumed, all its rust has not been removed, even by the fire to

² Langlois, *Hist. des Albigeois*, *liv. viii*, p. 418, had made this supposition, to justify the rigours of the church ; the Rev. father Vaissette, victoriously refutes it, by the acts of the council, *liv. xxiv*, *ch. i*, p. 346. But what was then the doctrine of the French clergy in 1737, since at that epoch, one of its most respectable, most virtuous, most enlightened members, regarded as an atrocious calumny, the accusation of tolerance?

which God, by a hidden, yet a just judgment, has delivered the infidelity of the hearts of its inhabitants, and the frost of their malice. Neither the fomentations of caresses nor the torments of flagellations have been able to soften them. They have so hardened their hearts against God, that, although given up to a multitude of scourges, they have not accepted their discipline. Because they have had some success against the church, they see in it the confirmation of their errors, not considering that the felicity of sinners is the greatest of all infelicities.”³

The statesman would have blushed, who should have attempted to kindle a temporal war, without giving better reasons for it than such antitheses as these; but they were quite sufficient to justify a religious war. However, the cardinal of Sant. Angelo, who was employed to persuade Louis VIII to a crusade against the Albigenses, was also commissioned, not to break off the negociation with Raymond VII, until he was sure of success. In consequence, he invited him to repair to a national council, of all the church of France, to be held at Bourges on the 29th of November, 1225, thus reserving to himself all the summer, to treat beforehand with his enemies.⁴

Although the Albigenses of Languedoc could no longer really give any quietude to the church

³ Bull 15, *Kal. Martii apud Raynaldum*, 1225, § xxviii, xxix, p. 351.

⁴ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiv, ch. iii, p. 348.

of Rome, yet the intolerance of the pope was awakened by other symptoms of mental agitation which he saw around him. The persecutions of the sectaries, had, by dispersing them, spread the germs of reformation, through all the countries of the romanesque language. The unhappy sufferers, who had been treated with such pitiless cruelty, and who, on account of what they had endured, (*pati*) were designated by the name of *Paterins*, distinguished themselves by the purity of their conduct, as well as by that of their doctrine ; the contrast, between their morals and those of the priests, was apparent to all ; they did not profess to separate from the church, but only desired liberty to effect their salvation, as different orders of monks had done, by a greater austerity. They had multiplied in Italy, and especially in Lombardy, and, in this same year, Honorius III charged the bishops of Modena, of Brescia, and of Rimini, to enquire after them, to pull down their houses and destroy their race.⁵

1225. The greatest obstacle to the renewal of the crusade against the Albigenses, was the war in which Louis VIII was engaged with the king of England. Henry III, profiting by the popularity which his youth had still left him, had assembled a parliament at Westminster ; he had exposed to his subjects the injustice which had been done him in his continental possessions, and had demanded

⁵ *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.* 1225, ch. xlvi, p. 355.

their aid to recover the rich provinces of which the crown had been dispossessed. The English, occupied in their island with circumscribing the abuses of the royal authority, did not attach any very great value to the possessions of their king in France, which were not submitted to their laws. They acquiesced, however, in the demands of Henry, and his chief justice, Hubert du Burgh. A fifteenth, upon moveable property, had been judged sufficient subsidy to form a fair army ; this was granted him, on condition that the king should confirm anew the great charter, and the forest charter, which he had repeatedly sworn to observe, and which he had observed always like a king. Henry III submitted to the condition ; he sent express orders into all the counties, to respect the privileges of the people ; and, in return, he raised the sums which had been granted him. On Palm-Sunday he dispatched for Bourdeaux his brother Richard, whom he had recently knighted, and to whom he had granted the titles of earl of Cornwall and of Poitou, with only sixty knights.⁶ William, earl of Salisbury, and Philip d'Aubignac, were given him as counsellors ; in a little time they assembled around him the principal barons of Gascony : they compelled to submission those who before rejected his authority, or who had embraced the French party, and with this

⁶ *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang.* p. 272. *Annales Waverlienses*, t. xviii, 209.

little army they undertook at last to besiege Reole.⁷

On his side, Louis VIII had held many parliaments at Paris, and had occupied the lords who had assembled there, sometimes about the affairs of the Albigenses, and sometimes with the war against England. When he received the news of the landing of the English at Bourdeaux, he advanced as far as Tours, and afterwards to Chinon;⁸ and the count of Marche engaged in a trifling combat with Richard, lieutenant of his brother Henry II, in Aquitaine. But, on either side the forces were inconsiderable; the two princes stood equally on the defensive, and both lent an ear to the solicitations of Honorius III, and his legate, the cardinal of Sant. Angelo, who wished either to engage them to conclude a good peace, or, at least, to renew a long truce.⁹

Raymond VII well knew, that his ruin was the ultimate object of all the negotiations between the king of France and the church. The 29th of September he had to regret the death of the archbishop of Narbonne. This was, nevertheless, that same Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, who had directed the crusade with so much ferocity, as legate of the holy see; but his ambition, and his disputes with the house of Montfort, made him then seek

⁷ *Matt. Paris*, p. 272. *Chron. Turon.* p. 308.

⁸ *Honorii III Epist. apud Raynald.* 1225, ch. xxx, xxxi, p. 352.

⁹ *Gesta Ludov. viii*, p. 309. *Chron. Guill. de Nangis*, p. 514.

for support in that of Saint Gilles.¹ On the other hand, Henry III had himself solicited the friendship of the count of Toulouse, although prudence had compelled him to require that their alliance should, for some time, be kept secret.² Raymond VII, encouraged by the promises of that king, proceeded, at the end of November, to the council of Bourges.

1225. This council proved very numerous; few partial assemblies of the church had presented a more imposing appearance. There were reckoned six archbishops, one hundred and thirteen bishops, and one hundred and fifty abbots; another historian makes the number of archbishops to be as high as fourteen. The legate presided, the king of France assisted with his court, and Raymond VII of Saint Gilles, on the one part, Amaury de Montfort, on the other, presented themselves to set forth their claims upon the countship of Toulouse. Amaury displayed the titles of the donations made to his father by the pope and by king Philip, and maintained that Raymond had been irrevocably deprived of his heritage, by the highest authority in the church, that of the œcuménical council of Lateran. Raymond, on his part, declared himself ready to do service for his fiefs, and to acquit himself, both

¹ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. iv, p. 349.*

² *Rymer Acta, t. i, p. 281. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. ii, p. 347.*

towards the king and the church of Rome, of all that he owed to them on account of his heritage. "Would you submit, in this matter," replied Amaury, "to the judgment of the twelve peers of France? Let the king first receive my homage," replied Raymond, "and I am ready to submit to it; otherwise, perhaps the peers would not acknowledge me as one of their body." The legate was very far from being desirous that the cause of the church should be debated in this public and chivalrous manner. He hastened to close the discussion; he enjoined on each of the archbishops, to assemble his bishops, and to deliberate with them without communication with his brethren; then he demanded of each to transmit to him his opinion in writing, and he fulminated an excommunication, against whoever of the prelates should reveal the secret of these partial deliberations.³

Nevertheless, a pretext was wanted for refusing absolution to a prince, who desired to be reconciled to the church, and for directing upon him all the forces of Christendom. The legate, therefore, repeated against the count all the old accusations of heresy and revolt; Raymond VII, addressing the legate with the most earnest prayers, then "besought him to come in person and visit

³ *Matt. Paris*, p. 277. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, *liv. xxiv, ch. iii*, p. 348. *Preuves*, No. clx, p. 299. *Chronicon Turon.* *MSS. in Labbei Consiliis*, *t. xi*, p. 291. *Chron. Turonense*, *t. xviii*, p. 310.

each of the cities of his province, to make inquiries of each individual, as to the articles of his faith, and if he found any who differed from the catholic belief, he protested that he was ready to inflict upon him the severest punishment, according to the judgment of the holy church. In like manner, if any city was found rebellious, he affirmed that he was ready with all his power to compel it, as well as all its inhabitants, to make satisfaction. As to himself, he offered, if he had sinned in anything, (which he did not remember to have done) to make full penitence to God and the holy church, like a faithful Christian; and, if it pleased the legate, he was willing equally to suffer the examination of his faith. But the legate despised all these things, and the count, catholic as he was, could obtain no favour, unless he would renounce his heritage, for himself and his heirs!"⁴

Some disputes of precedence between the archbishops, some demands of the Romish church upon the chapters of the cathedrals, in each of which the pope wished to have two prebends at his disposal, made a diversion of the labours of the council, and gave opportunity to withdraw the affairs of the Albigenses from public discussion. The legate profited by this circumstance to conclude the treaty between Louis VIII and the court of Rome. He acceded to all the demands which Louis had formerly made; he granted to those who should

⁴ *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang.* p. 279.

take the cross against the Albigenses, the most extensive indulgences; and prohibited the king of England, under pain of excommunication, from disquieting the king of France, as long as he should be engaged in the service of God and the church, even respecting the territories which he might unjustly possess.⁵ All these measures being taken, the legate dismissed the council, the king returned to Paris, count Raymond into his territories, and the cardinal then declared, that the separate opinion which he had received from each archbishop, was, "that Raymond ought, in no case, to be absolved on account of the offers he had made; but that the king of the French should be charged by the church with this affair, since no other could, so well as he, purge the land from the wickedness of the heretics; that, in fine, to recompense the king for his expenses, the tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues should be assigned to him for five years, if the war lasted so long."⁶

1225. In accepting this commission from the church, Louis remembered that he might not survive the war he was about to undertake. He, therefore, made his will, in the month of June, 1225; and whilst the kings his predecessors had been contented to distribute, by such acts, their moveable riches for pious purposes, he, for the first time, endeavoured to dispose of the crown

⁵ *Matt. Paris*, p. 279.

⁶ *Instrumentum Romani Cardinalis, Preuves de Languedoc*, no. clxxxi, p. 323.

and its fiefs. He called his eldest son to the succession of the throne of France, he destined Artois to the second, Anjou and Maine to the third, Poitou and Auvergne to the fourth, and he ordered, besides, that the countship of Boulogne, with which his brother was invested, should return to the crown, if this brother died without children.⁷

The king of the French was very willing to accept the confiscations of the territories belonging to the count of Toulouse, as the avenger of the offended church; but he wished, at the same time, to shield himself against the accusation of cupidity or injustice, by the authority of those who had given him this counsel. In that age kings were not accustomed to take upon themselves alone the responsibility of government. They felt that they were only the chiefs of a confederation of princes. No constitution had, it is true, regulated how these princes should take part in the common deliberations, or had guaranteed their right of suffrage in the national assemblies; the king, however, knew that it would be nearly impossible to cause the great vassals to execute what they had not previously determined in their diet. He therefore assembled parliaments; and by this name was then understood conferences of the freest nature with those whom he wished to consult, and whom he called to his councils. On the 28th of January, 1226, Louis VIII convoked at

⁷ *Testamentum Ludovici VIII ad calcem gestorum, p. 310.*

Paris one of those parliaments or assemblies of notables. It is probable that the lords temporal and spiritual voted in common; nevertheless their acts are come down to us separate. On the one hand, twenty-seven secular lords, on the other, seventeen archbishops or bishops, declared by letters patent, given in that assembly, that they counselled the king to take upon himself the affair of the Albigenses, and promised to assist him with all their power; the one as his liege-men, the other by excommunicating all his enemies. Amongst the first were seven counts, those of Boulogne, of Brittany, of Dreux, of Chartres, of Saint Paul, of Rouci, and of Vendôme, none of whom ranked amongst the twelve peers of the realm; there were also many great officers of the crown, and the chiefs of the illustrious houses of Montmorency, of Courtenay, of Nesle, and of Coucy; these twenty-five lords, however, can by no means be considered as representing the nobility of the kingdom.⁸

Two days after, the 30th of January, the king took the cross with all his barons; and the legate publicly excommunicated as a condemned heretic Raymond count of Toulouse, with all his associates. Amaury de Montfort, with the approbation of his uncle Guy, ceded to the king all his pretensions upon the domains of Albigeois, in exchange

⁸ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. v, p. 350, Preuves, no. 161, 162, p. 299, 300. Chron. Turon. Anonym. tom. xviii, p. 311.*

for the post of constable of France; the legate granted to Louis one hundred thousand livres annually, to be taken from the tenth of the ecclesiastical possessions of the kingdom, and he sent out missionaries to every part of France, with power to absolve, from all their sins, those who should repair to Bourges, a month after easter, to serve in the army which Louis would at that time take under his command.⁹

On the 29th of March, the king assembled a new parliament at Paris, to concert measures for the expedition which had been resolved upon. Some years had already elapsed since the crusades had ceased, so that those who had, in the interval, arrived at the age of manhood, and those who, having already served in the sacred wars, remembered only their pleasures, equally desired a fresh opportunity of bathing in the blood of the infidels. The great lords saw, with more of suspicion, the oppression of one of the first peers of the kingdom, and the union of his vast domains to the crown. They readily perceived that if their king, after having expelled the king of England from his domains, should also conquer those belonging to the count of Toulouse, the power of an individual would, in France, replace their feudal republic; but the expedition against the Albigenses, had been decreed by the authority of

⁹ *Matt. Par. Hist. Ang.* p. 279. *Gesta Ludov.* viii, p. 309. *Chron. Turon.* tom. xviii, p. 312.

the realm united with that of the church, so that they were obliged to perform the service of their fiefs under the double penalty of forfeiture and excommunication. Henry III, who would willingly have made a diversion on the side of Guienne, received so many summonses from the pope to engage him to remain neuter,¹ that he consented to send deputies on the 22nd of March to the cardinal legate, to renew the truce.² James king of Aragon, yielding, in like manner, to the pope's solicitations, prohibited his people from assisting the Albigenses, although he was himself nephew to the count of Toulouse. The count of Roussillon took the same part, and was afterwards imitated by Raymond Berenger count of Provence and of Forcalquier. Hugues X de Lusignan, count of la Marche, who had caused his son to marry a daughter of Raymond VII, sent her back to him, declaring that after the summons of the king and the church, he broke off all connexion with him.³ And whilst the unhappy Raymond saw himself deserted by all his allies, with the only exception of the count of Foix, he learned that the army destined to annihilate him, reckoned, in knights, squires, and serjeants-at-arms, fifty thousand horsemen.⁴

¹ *Matt. Paris*, p. 279. *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.* 1226, § xxxiv, *et seq.* p. 364.

² *Rymer Acta Publica*, tom. i, p. 285.

³ *Chron. Turon. Anonym.* p. 314.

⁴ *Matt. Paris*, p. 280. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiv, ch. xii, p. 354.

None can describe the terror which such a formidable armament inspired in the country destined to experience its fury, and which had already felt all the horrors of religious wars. The people knew that the reformed preaching had entirely ceased in their province ; they would probably themselves have sacrificed the heretics, had they known where to find them, from resentment for the ills which the sectaries had already brought upon them, and those with which they were still menaced. Those same inhabitants of the countship of Toulouse who saw themselves so cruelly persecuted by the Roman church, knew in their consciences, that they were nevertheless zealous Roman catholics ; and therefore they were fully persuaded that the crusaders, as they were informed, had engaged to pass through the territory of the count of Toulouse from one extremity to the other, in order to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and people it with another race.⁵

Excessive fear dissolved all the ancient bands of affection, of relationship, and of feudal subjection. Whilst Louis was collecting his army at Bourges, and was traversing the Nivernois, and when he arrived at Lyons on the 28th of May, for the feast of the ascension, he received deputations after deputations from all the barons of the states of Raymond or from the cities which

⁵ *Et sic terram comitis totam ab initio usque ad finem cum habitatoribus ejus deleri*—Matt. Paris. Hist. Ang. p. 280.

were subject to him, to offer their oath of fidelity, their keys, their hostages, all the guarantees, in a word, of their entire obedience to the king and the church, which the crusaders could desire. The inhabitants of Avignon were amongst the number of those who had long ago offered themselves to Louis. They placed at his service, the use of their city and of their bridge over the Rhone. It was, in fact, their embassy which determined Louis to choose that route for entering the states of Raymond.⁶

Avignon, as well as Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, and all the country situated on the left bank of the Rhone, belonged to the kingdom of Arles, or to the empire, and not to the kingdom of France. But the authority of the emperor over that country was then reduced to an empty name. The grand vassals of Provence were the real sovereigns, and the four cities we have named, having continually been increasing the privileges of their communes, had at last became true republics ; governed upon the model of the cities of Lombardy, by a podestat, with annual consuls and a council of the commune. Avignon had, nevertheless, retained a great affection for the house of Saint

⁶ *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. ix, p. 352.* The deputies from Avignon who had met the king at Clermont d'Auvergne, had agreed with him that he should only enter into the city with a hundred knights, and the legate with only the archbishop and the bishops; but that the inhabitants should furnish to all the rest of the army provisions at an equitable price. *Chronicon Turonense, p. 314, tom. xviii des historiens de France.*

Gilles ; and this city which had been amongst the first to open its gates to Raymond VII on his return from the council of Lateran, had submitted from love to him, to remain twelve years under an excommunication. The inhabitants of Avignon did not feel themselves strong enough to sustain the first violence of the crusade, nor did they think that count Raymond himself would be able to resist it. They therefore offered to the king provisions and the passage of the Rhone, but they would not receive an army so ill supplied, and ill disciplined, as his, within their walls. In conformity with this line of conduct, the podestat and consul of the city, representing the community,⁷ took all proper measures for the safety of their republic. They repaired their walls, provided themselves with arms and machines of war, and brought into their city all the provisions of the neighbouring fields. Raymond VII, on whom those lands depended, took no offence at the advances which they had made to his enemy. He did not despair of his safety, but he knew that he could not meet the formidable army which was coming against him, in the open field. He had therefore confined his endeavours to the prolongation of the war, in the hope that time might procure him some favourable changes. On the one hand, to confirm the affections of his sub-

⁷ *Boucher Hist. de Prorence, liv. ix, sect. 2, t. ii, p. 211.*

jects, he granted new privileges to the inhabitants of Toulouse, and new fiefs to Roger Bernard, count of Foix, his only ally.⁸ On the other, he concerted with the city of Avignon, after they had supplied themselves, to destroy all the grain and forage which they had not secured, and even took care to break up all the meadows, that the crusaders might find no green forage.⁹

The bridge which crosses the Rhone from Avignon to the suburbs now called *Ville-Neuve*, and formerly *Saint-André*, rests upon a small island, which divides the course of the river. It is of stones, and the city on one side, and the suburb on the other, enclose it like two *têtes de pont*. But the magistrates had constructed a wooden frame, which began from this island, and terminated above the city. By this bridge of wood, Louis VIII, immediately on his arrival, passed three thousand soldiers: there was no necessity for him to demand any other passage; and, as the city did not acknowledge him as its lord, either immediate or sovereign, he ought to have contented himself with the offer that was made him, to open a passage for his army without the walls, and honourably to admit, into the city, himself and the legate, with the most distinguished persons of the court. But, the legate and the priests wished to punish a city, which had remained twelve years

⁸ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xi, p. 354.*

⁹ *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang. p. 280.*

in impenitence, under the weight of an excommunication : the crusaders were envious of the riches which they expected to find accumulated in it, and the pride of the king was wounded with any opposition made to his authority. He declared to the podestats and consuls of Avignon, that he wished to pass the Rhone by the stone bridge, and for that purpose to traverse their city with his lance on his thigh, at the head of his whole army. The consuls, worthy of the energy of a rising republic, boldly declared that they would not permit it, and immediately shut their gates against him.¹

Louis VIII had arrived before Avignon, on the 6th of June, 1226, the eve of Pentecost ; but it was not till the 10th that he commenced the siege. The negotiations of the preceding days had been brought so near to a conclusion, that the citizens had restored fifty hostages, who were in their custody. Nevertheless, on the 9th the legate published a decree, enjoining upon the king to purge the city from heretics ; and the French having, during the truce, made an attempt to surprise one of the gates, blood was spilled on both sides, and the conferences were broken off.²

However, the siege of Avignon was found to be

¹ *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang.* p. 280. *Boucher Hist. de Provence, liv. ix,* sect. ii, p. 221. *Guil. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxxv,* p. 687. *Præclara Francor. facinora,* p. 774. (He copies Puy Laurens.)

² *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xiv,* p. 356. *Chron. Turon.* v. 315.

a much more difficult enterprise, than the legate and the crusaders had expected. The city was strong, both from its situation, and from a double inclosure of walls ; the population was numerous, and well provided with arms and warlike machines ; they knew all the dangers to which their resistance exposed them ; and the fate which awaited them if they should happen to fall. But they relied upon the goodness of their cause, and the protection of the emperor Frederic II, to whom Louis hastened to write to justify his aggression ; and the love of liberty redoubled the bravery of its defenders. "They returned," says Matthew Paris, "stones for stones, arrows for arrows, beams for beams, spears for spears, they invented machines to destroy the effect of those of the besiegers, and they inflicted mortal wounds upon the French."²

Although the siege of Avignon lasted three months, we have no other account, than that contained in these few words, of the various battles which were fought around the walls of that city. We only know that they were very destructive to the army of the crusaders, and that the two podestats of Avignon, William Raymond, and Raymond de Rial, who took, at the same time, the title of bailiffs or representatives of the count of Toulouse, shewed themselves worthy of the con-

² *Preuves à l'Hist. de Languedoc*, No. 171, p. 310.

⁴ Matt. Paris, p. 280. *Chronicon Turonense*, p. 315.

fidence of the people and the prince.⁵ The fall of the wooden bridge, at the time that the crusaders were crowded upon it, precipitated a great number into the river; many more were slain in the assaults, or by the sorties of the besiegers; but the greatest loss which the army of Louis experienced, was caused by disease and famine. Provisions, and especially forage, failed, in that burning climate, in the midst of summer, to the most numerous body of cavalry that had ever been assembled in France. Louis was obliged to send foraging parties to a great distance, but they almost all fell into the hands of Raymond VII, who, avoiding a battle, still hovered on the flanks of the besiegers. The camp was soon surrounded, in every direction, with the carcases of horses which had died either from privation or fatigue. Their stench produced maladies amongst the soldiers, and it is asserted that the large flies which were nourished by their putrified flesh, and which afterwards attacked the men, propagated the contagion by their stings. Guy, count of Saint Paul, the bishop of Limoges, and two hundred knights-bannerets sunk under the destructive fever which attacked the army; and Matthew Paris makes the number of the crusaders, of all ranks, who perished in this siege, amount to twenty thousand men.⁶

⁵ *Preuves à l'Hist. de Languedoc*, No. clxix, p. 308.

⁶ *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang.* p. 281. *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiv, ch. xvii, p. 358.

But the army of the crusaders had not all remained under the walls of Avignon; detached parties, profiting by the terror which they inspired, received the submission of the neighbouring lords, cities, and castles. The city of Nismes planted on its walls, on the 5th of June, 1226, the king's standard, and from that epoch it has remained in the immediate domain of the crown; those of Puilaurens and of Castres followed the example in the days following. Carcassonne and Albi sent their deputies, after the 16th of June, to the camp before Avignon to deliver the keys of their fortress. The number of the lords who capitulated was greater. Raymond VII, though still beloved by his subjects, was abandoned at the same time by the barons and the communes.

It is true that Louis VIII began also at this time to see some of his vassals withdraw from his army. Thibaud IV, or the Posthumous, count of Champaign, set them the example. This prince, at that time twenty-six years of age, who, was reckoned amongst the best poets of the new French language, who called himself the knight of the queen Blanche, and who pretended to be in love with her, though she was more than forty years of age, was, nevertheless, not so blinded by gallantry, as to be indifferent to the subjugation of the great feudatories. It is believed that he

⁷ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xiii, p. 355—358. Preuves, No. 174, p. 314. Histoire de Nismes, liv. iii, p. 294.*

concerted with Peter Mauclerc, count or duke of Brittany, and with Hugues de Lusignan, count of Marche and Angoulême, to save the count of Toulouse from utter ruin.⁸ When he had finished the forty days to which he was bound by his feudal service, he demanded of Louis VIII leave to retire. Louis refused him on the ground that he was in the service of the church, whose laws superseded those of the realm. Thibaud was incensed; the king threatened to ravage his domains; to this threat the count of Champaign paid no regard and quitted him. The altercation between them was, however, so violent, that when Louis died, a short time after, there was a report current, that this great lord, the lover of his wife, had caused him to be poisoned.⁹

During these proceedings, the citizens of Avignon, after having caused infinite loss to the army of the crusaders, consented, at last, on the 12th of September, to capitulate. Matthew Paris relates that they only engaged to receive, within their walls, the legate and the high lords of the army, but that these being introduced into the city with their attendants, took possession of the gates in

⁸ *Histoire de Languedoc*, liv. xxiv, ch. xvii, p. 358. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, liv. viii, ch. xlvi, p. 218.

⁹ Matt. Paris, p. 281. *Gesta Ludov. regis*, p. 308. *Chroniq. de Saint-Denys*, p. 421.

¹ Father Lobineau says, it is sufficiently certain that Louis VIII died by poison, but it remains uncertain by whom that poison was given. *Hist. de Bretagne*, liv. vii, ch. xlvi, p. 219.

contempt of the capitulation.¹ Neither the king nor the legate thought themselves, in conscience, obliged to keep any faith with excommunicated heretics, but they owed some regard to Frederic II, and it was probably on his account that they contented themselves with requiring three hundred hostages, as a guarantee for the submission of the citizens to the commands of the church and the legate; with imposing on the city a warlike contribution; with throwing down parts of its walls and towers; and with putting to the sword the Flemings and the French who were found in the garrison. It is probable that, but for the recommendation of the emperor, all the inhabitants would have been put to death.²

Louis remained a short time at Avignon with his army. Fifteen days after he had taken the city, a terrible inundation of the Durance covered all the space which had been occupied by the French camp. If the soldiers had not taken their quarters within the walls, they would all have been swept away by the water, with their tents and baggage. At this epoch Louis confided the government of Beaucaire and of Nismes to a French knight, who, from that time took the title of sene-

¹ *Matt. Paris*, p. 281. According to the *Chronique de Tours*, t. xviii, p. 317, the citizens referred themselves to the arbitration of the legate, not expecting so severe a sentence.

² *Guil. de Podio Laur.* cap. xxxv, p. 687. *Præclara Francor. facin.* p. 774. *Bern. Guid. Vit. Honor.* III, p. 570. *Bouche Hist. de Provence*, liv. ix, § ii, p. 221. *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.* 1226 et 40, p. 365.

schal of the two cities. The king afterwards passed through the province, and arrived within four leagues of Toulouse, magnificently entertained and feasted by the bishop Fouquet, who followed the army; respectfully admitted into their castles by the Languedocian Lords, from whom he successively received an oath of fidelity; giving a seneschal to Carcassonne, as he had done to Beaucaire; rasing the city of Limoux, the capital of Razez, which was situated upon a hill, to rebuild it on a plain; and, in fine, receiving in the month of October, in the city of Pamiers, the submission of all the bishops of the province.³

But throughout this whole expedition Louis VIII had not the opportunity of signalizing the bravery of his soldiers, by a single warlike exploit. The counts of Toulouse and of Foix, who had renewed their alliance, under the guarantee of the city of Toulouse, avoided every battle, and every kind of action. They determined to suffer the crusaders to exhaust themselves by their own efforts, supposing that if Louis returned into their province in the following year, as he had threatened, he would at least not be followed by so large a body of fanatics; that they would have received a lesson from the mortality and sufferings before Avignon; and that their persecuting zeal would be much abated, by having observed none of these heretics

³ *Guil. de Podio Laur. cap. xxxvi, p. 688. Praeclara Francor. facinor. p. 775.*

in the province, of whom so much had been told them. By the same reasoning, but with a quite contrary interest, the king, the legate, and the bishop Fouquet, earnestly desired to find, in the country where they had made war, some of those enemies of the church, for whose extirpation the whole of France had been put in motion. Nothing was more difficult than this, after fifteen years of persecution, during which they had either been expelled or put to death. It was with the greatest exertions that they at last discovered, at Cannes, in the diocese of Narbonne, an ancient preacher of the Albigenses, named Peter Isarn, who being too old to quit the country, had concealed himself in the most secret retreats. He was condemned by the archbishop of Narbonne, and burned with great ceremony. After this execution, Louis prepared for his return: he entrusted his conquests to the government of Humbert de Beaujeu, a knight distinguished both for his birth and valour, and took the road towards Auvergne in his way to Northern France.⁴

But the germs of that malady, which had caused so many ravages during the siege of Avignon, still remained in the army, and the fatigue, the heat, and the march across an unhealthy country during the feverish season, gave them additional activity. William archbishop of Rheims, the count of Namur, and Bouchard de Marli, fell the first victims

⁴ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xxiii—xxvi, p. 359—362.*

to this epidemic. Louis VIII, on his arrival at Montpensier, in Auvergne, on the 29th of October, felt himself attacked in his turn. He was obliged to rest there, and soon discovered that his malady was mortal. On the third of November he called into his chamber the prelates and the principal lords by whom he had been accompanied, viz. the archbishop of Bourges and of Sens; the bishops of Beauvais, of Noyon, and of Chartres, Philip his brother, count of Boulogne, the count of Blois, Enguerrand de Coucy, Archambaud de Bourbon, Jean de Nesle, and Etienne de Sancerre. He commended to them his eldest son, then only twelve years of age, and afterwards celebrated as Saint Louis; he confided him to the care of his wife, Blanche of Castille; he demanded of his prelates and barons that they would promise to crown him, without delay, as their lord and king, and pay him their homage; and he made them confirm this promise by a solemn oath. The malady soon reached its last stage, and he expired on the 8th of November, 1226.⁵

⁵ *Martene Thesaurus anecdotor.* tom. i, p. 937. *Guil. de Podio Laurentii,* cap. xxxvi, p. 688. *Guil. de Nangiaco Vita Ludovici* viii, p. 310. *In Du- chesne Ludov.* 9. *Guil. de Nangis Chron.* p. 517. *Gesta Ludov.* viii, p. 310. *Chronique de Saint Denys,* p. 422. *Abrégué anonyme de l'Histoire de France.* *Hist. de France,* tom. xvii, p. 432. *Hist. de Languedoc,* liv. xxiv, ch. xxvii, p. 353. *Annales Waverleenses Monast.* tom. xviii, p. 210. *Chron. Turon.* p. 317. *Andrenses Monast. Chron.* tom. xviii, p. 580. *Joannis Iperii Chron. sancti Bertini,* p. 609. *Chronic. Alberici Trium Fontium,* p. 796.

CHAP. V.

*Affairs of the Albigenses from the Death of Louis VIII,
1226, to the Peace of Paris, 1229; and its final ratification, 1242.*

AT the death of Louis VIII, the monarchy which had been raised to a high degree of power, by the skill and good fortune of Philip Augustus, appeared in danger of falling into that state of turbulent anarchy from which he had with difficulty rescued it. He had obtained great advantages over his vassals, which his son, during his short reign, had not had time to lose; but those vassals had still the consciousness of their strength, and the love of that independence of which they had been so recently deprived. To keep them in their obedience a high degree of energy was required in the depositaries of the royal authority, and that authority was confided in a woman and a child.

Louis VIII had married on the 23rd of May, 1200, Blanche, daughter of Alphonso IX of Castille; he had eleven children by her, five of whom survived him. Blanche was born, according to Bollandus, in 1188,⁶ and most probably three or

⁶ *Bollandus*, 30 Mai, p. 291.

four years sooner, so that she was, at the death of her husband, at least thirty-eight years of age. Louis, the eldest of her sons, born the 25th of April, 1215, was, at that time, eleven years and a half; Robert, the eldest of his other three sons, was ten years; Alphonso, the second, seven; the youngest, Charles, was only six, and the daughter, Elizabeth, was only two years old.

Blanche was a Spaniard, and possessed of the qualities common to her nation, the qualities peculiar to great minds. She was handsome; her heart was ardent and tender; religion partly occupied it, but love was not excluded; and her deportment, especially towards the king of Navarre, and the pope's legate, gave some colour of probability to the reports which her enemies circulated against her. Jealous of her authority, jealous of the affections of those whom she loved, even when she married her sons, she was still watchful to prevent their wives obtaining an ascendancy over them which might interfere with her own; she had, besides, inspired them with a high idea of her prudence and capacity. She possessed their love, but that love was mingled with fear, and even when she placed them on the throne, she did not accustom them to relax in their obedience. Although she was herself, probably, destitute of a literary education, which was in those times rarely given even to men, she comprehended the advantage of useful studies,

and surrounded her sons with those who were the most capable of teaching them all that was then known. She gave to the masters whom she chose an authority, over the princes, as absolute as they could have had over the children of a citizen; and as the ferula was then the only system of education known to the pedants, “so, as the blessed king himself used to say, the aforesaid master flogged him many times to teach him things of discipline.”⁷ But above all, Blanche endeavoured to inspire her children with the same religious sentiments by which she herself was actuated; and the education which she gave them constantly tended to the developement of that piety, and that ardent faith, which was the spring of all their actions.

1227. Blanche, at the same time that she had to contend with her great barons, for the sovereign authority, and to maintain her relations with the king of England, found herself charged with the war which her husband, according to the exhortation of the holy see, had, in the preceding year, carried on against the Albigenses. But, although the army of Louis VIII had been almost destroyed there by sickness, the regent had no reason to fear the vengeance of the inhabitants of the countship of Toulouse, to whom, under the pretence of their attachment to heresy, so much evil had been done. They were crushed under the weight

⁷ *Vie de St. Louis* par le confesseur de la reine Marguerite, ch. ii, p. 301.

of long-protracted calamities, and desired nothing so much as a short season of repose. The cardinal, Romano di Sant. Angelo, had full authority from the pope to regulate the ecclesiastical government of the conquered country. In the beginning of January, he gave judgment upon the demand made by the citizens of Avignon, to be reconciled to the church. He prohibited them from affording any succours to the count of Toulouse, or any asylum to the heretics. He condemned them to a fine of a thousand marks of silver to the church, and of six thousand to the army of the crusaders. He commanded them to demolish their walls, their ramparts, and their towers, without the liberty of rebuilding them, unless they should obtain permission from the king of France and the church. On these conditions he was willing to free them from the excommunication which they had incurred; but, at the same time, he destined the money that he had extorted from them, to fortifying the castle of Saint André, on the other side of the Rhone, which was intended to keep them in obedience.⁸

During lent, in the same year, Peter, archbishop of Narbonne, presided at a council in his episcopal city, the canons of which, to the number of twenty, were all intended to redouble the rigours of persecution against the Jews and the heretics, the count of Toulouse, the count of Foix, and the viscount of Beziers, and to augment the authority

⁸ *Hist. gén. du Languedoc*, xxiv, ch. xxix, p. 364.

of the ecclesiastics. It was there ordered, that a testament should not be held valid, unless it was signed in the presence of the curate ; and that, in each parish, assistants to the inquisitors, under the name of synodical witnesses, should be instituted for the discovery of those whose faith might be suspected.⁹

In spite of the discouragement of his subjects, the abandonment of his allies, and the accumulation of sacerdotal hatred, the count of Toulouse endeavoured to profit by the retreat of the crusaders, to attack Humbert de Beaujeu, whom Louis VIII had, at his departure, left as his lieutenant of the province. He could only take from him the castle of Haute-Rive, four leagues from Toulouse, which he had attacked during the winter;¹ but, this event was sufficient to excite the French clergy to make the court of Rome resound with their clamours. They accused the queen of continuing to raise the tenths of the ecclesiastical benefices, granted for five years to her husband, without, at the same time, continuing the war against the heretics, which alone could render this exaction legitimate. They even obtained an order from Gregory IX, who had succeeded in the pontificate to Honorius III, to suspend the payment.² The cardinal of Sant. Angelo, who was

⁹ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv. ch. xxxii, p. 365. Concilia generalia Labbei, tom. xi, p. 304.*

¹ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxxvii, p. 689.*

² *Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1227, art. 56.*

entirely devoted to Blanche, found means to revoke the order; but, at the same time, gave the queen to understand, that it was to her interest to continue the war. She sent some assistance to Humbert de Beaujeu, who, by the help of this reinforcement, was enabled to lay siege to the castle Bécéde, in Lauraguais.³ The archbishop of Narbonne, and Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, when the Albigenses called the bishop of devils, proceeded to this siege. Pons de Villeneuve, and Olivier de Fermes, who commanded in the castle, not being able to prolong their defence, succeeded one night in escaping with part of the garrison; the rest were either knocked on the head, or put to the sword by the conquerors. . Fouquet did, however, save the lives of some women and children; and he, in like manner, rescued from the hands of the soldiers, though it was that they might perish in the flames, Girard de la Mote, pastor of the heretics of Bécéde, and all those who formed his flock.⁴

Thus, the cruelty of the persecutors was not yet satiated; still it frequently displayed itself by punishments, and during all the period on which we are now entering, the repressive measures, adopted by the councils, acquired each year more severity, and gave to the inquisition an organiza-

³ *Guill. Nangii Chronic. in spicil. tom. iii, p. 31.*

⁴ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, cap. xxxvii, p. 689. Praeclara Franc. facin. p. 775.*

tion still more terrible. Nevertheless, that fanaticism, which had armed the first crusaders against the Albigenses, was abated ; nobody now regarded Christianity as in danger from the progress of reform, nobody was anxious to save the church from the invasion of thought, and no one longed for the moment when he might rejoice at the burning of the heretics, or bathe himself in their blood. To an outrageous phrensy had succeeded a calm indifference ; yet, toleration had gained nothing by the exchange. Kings, nobles, priests, and people, were all agreed in thinking, that heretics must be destroyed by fire and sword. An injurious name, which recalled the Bulgarian origin of the sect, was given to all who had undertaken to bring back morals to their purity, faith to its spirituality, and the church to its original simplicity. A cold contempt alone was vouchsafed to those beings who had been animated by such generous sentiments, and had suffered so much affliction, as if they had in them nothing human, nothing capable of feeling, nothing with which the heart of man could sympathise. Their very punishment excited no emotion, not even that of hatred, because it no longer required an effort to crush them.

Reason, however, began afresh to attempt the examination of religious questions ; but it was not to those controversies treated of by the Albigenses, that attention was directed. From them the

most undaunted speculators turned, with a well-founded horror. The schools of Paris had been continually acquiring importance; new scholars flocked there, not only from France, but from all Europe, to attend the lessons of celebrated masters. A numerous body of professors, who were indebted for their pecuniary advantages, their rank in society, and their fame, to the exercise of all the faculties of the mind, had raised themselves, still more than they had elevated the youths confided to their care. Erudition had made indubitable progress; skill in managing both the thoughts and the language in disputes, had increased with exercise; it is not so certain that the understanding had gained either in justness or in extent. The school of theology at Paris, famed through all Europe for its orthodoxy, placed its glory in maintaining that reputation without spot; yet, this body of teachers could not help finding itself in opposition to the monastic orders, who also undertook the work of instruction. Their rivalship contributed to attach the French theologians to the defence of the independence of their national church; it was by prescribing the boundaries of the temporal and spiritual powers, by their oppositions to the encroachments of the court of Rome, that they signalled their spirit of reform, and never in any examination of the doctrine, nor even that of the discipline of the church.

In the midst of the troubles of an agitated re-

gency, with numerous risings and revolts of the barons within the realm, and threatenings and dangers from without, Blanche had the talent to terminate the conquest of the Albigenses, and to gather the fruits of the policy of Philip Augustus, of the zeal of Louis VIII, and of the fanatical fury of their subjects. The rivalship of Philip Hurepel, the count of Boulogne, and uncle of Louis IX, the enmity and distrust of the barons, and the relationship which connected her with Raymond VII, did not divert her from those projects of aggrandisement, which she had formed in concert with the cardinal di Sant. Angelo. France has been indebted to her for the acquisition of a noble province, and forgetting at what a price it was purchased, she has viewed with indulgence both her policy and her means of success. It would be unjust to attribute to individuals the errors of their age. Intolerance and persecuting fanaticism were virtues in the eyes of Blanche, and she is not responsible for the instruction of her doctors. But cupidity, cruelty, and want of faith in political transactions, were sanctioned by no religious instruction. We are no more able to exculpate from these vices the great of the middle ages, than those of our own days. The frequency of examples cannot justify that which conscience reprobates. Yet the picture of the crimes of former ages does not excite sensations which are altogether painful; it shows to what a degree ignor-

ance is contrary to morality, and how greatly the increase of knowledge has been favourable to the progress of virtue.

1228. At the commencement of the year 1228, Raymond count of Toulouse again took the field, flattering himself that he should find the royal party discouraged by the civil wars with the barons, and the crusaders weakened by the departure of the most enthusiastic amongst them for the Holy Land. Guy de Montfort, brother of the ferocious Simon, was killed at the siege of Vareilles.⁵ Raymond afterwards took possession of Castel Sarrazin. In the neighbourhood of that place, he placed an ambush for a body of troops belonging to Humbert de Beaujeu, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, he abandoned himself to those sentiments of hatred and vengeance, which the horrors of the war had excited both in his soldiers and himself. The captives were mutilated with an odious cruelty ; a second advantage caused additional French prisoners to fall into his hands, and a second time he treated hem with the same barbarity.⁶ Perhaps, also, a mistaken policy made him thus brave the laws of humanity. Discouragement had seized the hearts of the Languedocians ; their constancy had been exhausted by such a succession of combats, and

⁵ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xxxvii, p. 689. Praeclara Francorum incinora, p. 776*

⁶ *Matt. Parisii Hist. Angl. p. 294.*

so many sufferings ; and Raymond VII thought that he should render them warlike by permitting them to become ferocious. But, on the contrary, those who had degraded themselves by taking the character of executioners, ceased to merit, in war, the title of soldiers. His success finished with his clemency.

Humbert de Beaujeu received but little assistance from France ; the prelates, however, effected for him what the queen could not then undertake. In the middle of June, the archbishops of Auch and Bourdeaux arrived at his camp, with a great number of bishops ; they had been preaching the cross in their respective dioceses, and they brought him a numerous and fanatical army.⁷ Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had never quitted the crusaders, and he exceeded them all in sanguinary zeal. He believed himself called to purify, by fire, his episcopal city, and he determined Beaujeu to draw near to Toulouse. The affrighted citizens shut themselves up within their walls, abandoning the surrounding country, and flattering themselves still to be able by lengthening out the war, to weary the patience of the besiegers. It was their own bishop, Fouquet, who suggested the method of wounding his people in what he knew to be the most sensible part, and of rendering this war for ever fatal to their country. By his advice, the French captains conducted, every morning, their

⁷ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xxxviii, p. 368.*

troops to the gates of Toulouse, and then retiring to the mountains, each day by a different route, they commanded them, through all the space they passed over, to cut down the corn, tear up the vines, destroy the fruit trees, and burn the houses, so that there remained not a vestige of the industry or of the riches of man. Each day the general traced in this manner a new radius, and, during three months, he uninterruptedly continued, thus methodically, to ravage all the adjacent country. At the end of the campaign, the city was only surrounded by a frightful desert, all its richest inhabitants were ruined, and their courage no longer enabled them to brave such a merciless war.⁸ Some lords had already abandoned them; the two brothers Olivier and Bernard de Termes submitted their castles, on the 21st of November, to the archbishop of Narbonne, and to marshal de Levis, who received it in the name of the king, of whom the brothers de Termes engaged to hold all the rest of their lordship.⁹ Nearly at the same time count Raymond listened to the propositions of peace which were made by the abbot of Grand-elve; on the 10th of December, 1228, he gave full powers to this abbot to negotiate in his name with the king, the queen mother, and the cardinal li Sant. Angelo, engaging to ratify whatever treaty

⁸ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xxxviii, p. 690. Praeclara Francorum acinora. p. 776.*

⁹ *Preuves de l'Hist. de Languedoc, t. iii, p. 325. Acte No. 182.*

should obtain the consent of his cousin Thibaud count of Champagne, whom he took for arbitrator of his differences with his cousin the queen. The instructions to the abbot of Grandselve¹ shew that Raymond VII, overwhelmed with terror as well as his subjects, no longer preserved any hope of defending himself. It might even be supposed that the victories of his enemies appeared to him a judgment from heaven, and that he thought himself obliged, in conscience, henceforth to share the persecuting fanaticism against which he so long had struggled. In fact, he demanded neither liberty of conscience for his subjects, nor the preservation of his own sovereignty; he abandoned all thoughts of maintaining, any longer, his independence; he consented to surrender himself disarmed, and without guarantee, into the hands of his enemies, and to leave to them the disposal of his heritage. He only desired to covenant for the possession of a small part of his states, to secure to himself not a sovereignty, but a revenue, which should cease with his life.²

1229. Early in the year 1229 the cardinal legate held two provincial councils, one at Sens, the other at Senlis, to prepare the articles relative to the pacification of Albigeois. He afterwards repaired to Meaux, where the king, the queen Blanche, the

¹ *Preuves de l'hist. de Languedoc*, t. iii, p. 326. *Acte No. 183.*

² *Martene Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. 1, p. 943. *Preuves de l'hist. de Languedoc*, § clxxxiii, p. 326.

count Raymond VII, the deputies from Toulouse, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the principal bishops of his province successively arrived. The treaty, which had been concerted between the cardinal di Sant Angelo, and the abbot of Grand-selve, was afterwards read. It was the most extraordinary that any sovereign had ever been required to sign. Each of its articles, says William de Puy Laurens, contained a concession which might alone have sufficed for the ransom of the count of Toulouse, had he been made prisoner in a universal rout of all his army. Raymond, nevertheless, did not hesitate to give his consent to it.³

The definitive treaty was signed at Paris the 12th of April, 1229. By this act, Raymond VII abandoned to the king all that he possessed in the kingdom of France, and to the legate all that he possessed in the kingdom of Arles. After this universal renunciation, the king, as if by favour, granted him, as a fief, for the remainder of his life, a part only of what he had taken from him, namely, a portion of the dioceses of Toulouse, of Albigeois, and of Quercy, with the entire dioceses of Agenois and of Rouergue. These provinces, which the king restored to him, were, moreover, to form the portion of his daughter Jane, then nine years of age, whom he named his sole heiress,

³ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xxxix, p. 691. Praeclara Francorum facinora, p. 777.*

and whom he engaged to deliver immediately into the hands of Blanche, that she might bring her up under her own eyes, and afterwards marry her to one of her sons at her discretion. Blanche destined her for Alphonso, the third, who was likewise but nine years old. In accepting, for her son, the daughter of a prince so long proscribed, and so constantly excommunicated, Blanche sufficiently manifested, that she, at least, did not consider him a heretic, that she felt no horror at being allied to him, and that on the part of the court of France, the crusade was rather political than religious. Its real design was to obtain possession of the domains belonging to the most powerful of the grand vassals, though its ostensible object was the suppression of heresy.

Toulouse, with all the provinces reserved to Raymond VII, were, after his death, to pass to his daughter, and to the children which she might have by her marriage with one of the king's brothers. In failure of these, the fiefs were to revert to the crown, without ever passing to any other children whom Raymond VII might have by a new marriage. On the other hand, the remainder of his states, amounting to nearly two-thirds of the whole, were to be given up to the king, immediately after the treaty of Paris, to be united to the crown; that is the dukedoms of Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne, Uzez and Viviers, as well as all that the count possessed or pretended to pos-

sess in Velay, Gévaudan, and the lordship of Lodève; together with the fief of the marshall of Lévis in the Touloussain, with the half of the Albigensis.⁴

These were but a small part of the sacrifices to which Raymond VII was obliged to submit. He promised to pay twenty thousand marks of silver in four years, half for the benefit of the churches, whilst the remainder should be employed in rebuilding the fortifications of the places, which he gave up to his enemies; to restore to all the ecclesiastics the whole of the possessions which had been taken from them during the war; to rase the walls and fill up the ditches of Toulouse, whilst, at the same time, he should receive a French garrison into the Narbonnese castle, which served as a citadel to that great city; to rase, likewise, the fortifications of thirty others of his cities or fortresses; to deliver eight of them into the custody of the king: he also promised never to raise any fortification in any other place in his states; to dismiss all the *routiers*, or those soldiers who made a trade of hiring themselves to any who wished to enrol them; in a word, to oblige all his subjects to swear, not only to observe this treaty, but also that they would turn their arms against him if he should ever depart from it. Even this was not all; Raymond VII was compelled to promise that

⁴ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xlvi, p. 375.* *Curita Anales de Aragon, tom. i, lib. II, ch. lxxxv, f. 121.*

he would henceforth make war against all those who, to this moment, had remained faithful to him, and especially against the count of Foix ; and that he would pay to every individual who should arrest a heretic, two marks for each of his subjects who might be thus carried before the tribunals. It appears, however, that Raymond felt himself so debased by these extorted conditions, that he himself demanded to be retained a prisoner at the Louvre, whilst they were beginning to execute the treaty ; and that he submitted to the obligation of serving five years in the Holy Land, when he should leave his prison, that he might not be the witness of the entire ruin of his country.⁵ Nevertheless, the love of repose, the dread of the humiliations he might have to endure in an army of fanatics, or perhaps some new hopes, engaged him afterwards to free himself from this last condition.

The union of part of Albigeois to the domain of the crown; and the submission of all the rest to those fanatical priests who had called thither the crusaders, were the forerunners of inexpressible calamities to these provinces. But, that which perhaps exceeded all the others, was the permanent establishment of the inquisition. This was principally the work of the council, assembled at Toulouse, in the month of November, 1229, and composed of the archbishops of Narbonne, of

⁵ *Preuves de l'Hist. de Languedoc*, § clxxxiv, p. 329 et seq.

Bourdeaux, and of Auch, with their suffragans.⁶ In the month of the preceding April, an ordon-
nance of Louis IX had renewed, in the countries
which had fallen under his dominion, the severest
pursuits against the heretics.⁷

The inquisition was not, at this epoch, aban-
doned solely to the Dominicans. It was only by
a slow progress, during all the reign of Saint
Louis, that it was brought to that complete and
fearful organization, with which a fanatical party
desires, at this day, its reestablishment in Spain.
The council of 1229, composed chiefly of prelates,
had sought to render it subordinate to the episco-
pal power. The bishops were to depute, into
each province a priest, and two or three laics, to
seek after, (having first engaged themselves by
oath,) all the heretics and their abettors—"Let
them visit carefully," says the first canon, "each
house in their parish, and the subterranean cham-
bers, which any suspicion shall have caused to be
remarked; let them examine all the out-houses,
the retreats under the roofs, and all the secret
places, which we order them, besides, every
where to destroy: if they find there any heretics,
or any of their abettors or concealers, let them
in the first place provide that they may not escape;
then let them, with all haste, denounce them to

⁶ *Concilia generalia Labbei, tom. xi, p. 425.*

⁷ *Ordonn. de France, t. i, p. 50. Hist. gén. de Languedoc, t. iii. liv. xxiv, ch. liii, p. 378.*

the archbishop, the bishop, the lord of the place or his bailiffs, that they may be punished according to their deserts.”⁸

An instruction as to the manner of proceeding against heretics, was composed before the end of the same century, for the use of the inquisitors. Some extracts from this curious book, published by the fathers Martene and Durand, of the congregation of Saint Maur, will give a better understanding respecting an institution which henceforward exercised so great an influence over the church and people of France. “ In this manner,” it is said at the beginning, “ the inquisitors proceed in the provinces of Carcassonne and Toulouse. First, the accused or suspected of heresy is cited; when he appears, he is sworn upon the holy Gospels, that he will fully say all that he knows for a truth, respecting the crime of heresy or Vaudoisie, as well concerning himself as others, as well concerning the living, as the dead. If he conceals or denies any thing, he is put in prison, and kept there until he shall have confessed ; but if he says the truth, (that is, if he accuses either others or himself) his confession is diligently written down by a notary public.....When a sufficient number have confessed to make a sermon” (thus they then called, what we at this day name, from a Portuguese word, *auto da fé*) “ the inquisitors convoke, in a suitable place, some juris-consults,

⁸ *Concilium Tolosanum*, ch. i. p. 428.

minor-brothers, and preachers, and the ordinaries, (the bishops) without whose counsel, or that of their vicars, no person ought to be condemned. When the council is assembled, the inquisitors shall submit to it a short extract from the confession of each person, but suppressing his name. They shall say, for example, *a certain person*, of such a diocese, has done what follows, after which the counsellors reply, *let the inquisitors impose upon him an arbitrary penance, or let this person be immured, or in fine, let him be delivered to the secular arm.* After which they are all cited for the following Sunday. On this day, the inquisitors, in the presence of the prelates, the abbots, the bailiffs, and all the people, cause those to be first called, who have confessed and persisted in their confession; for, if they retract, they are sent back to prison, and their faults only are recited.

“They begin with those who are to have arbitrary penances: to them they give crosses, they impose pilgrimages, greater or smaller according to their faults; to those who have perjured themselves, they give double crosses. All these having gone out with their crosses, they recite the faults of those who are to be immured, making them rise, one after the other, and each remain standing whilst his confession is read. When it is finished, the inquisitor seats himself, and gives his sentence sitting, first in Latin, then in French.

Finally they recite the faults of the relapsed, and

the sentence being pronounced, they are delivered..... Nevertheless, those who are delivered as relapsed, are not to be burned the same day they are delivered ; but, on the contrary, they ought to be engaged to confess themselves, and receive the eucharist, if they require it, and if they give signs of true repentance, for thus wills the lord pope.”⁹

But this was only the external form of procedure. An inquisitor, of the same period, has given a more detailed instruction to his brethren, respecting the manner of directing the interrogatories. This instruction, also, has been printed by the same two Benedictine fathers, in a collection of religious writings ; it is worthy of being placed entire under the eyes of the reader, and it is not without regret, that we confine ourselves to giving short extracts from it.

“ Even he who is the most profoundly plunged in heresy,” says the anonymous author, “ may sometimes be brought back, by the fear of death, or the hope that he shall be permitted to live, if he confess sincerely the errors which he has learned, and if he denounce any others whom he may know to belong to this sect. If he refuses to do it, let him be shut up in prison, and given to understand, that there are witnesses against him, and that if he be once convicted by witnesses, there will be no mercy for him, but he will be delivered to death. At the same time let his food be les-

⁹ *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hæreticos. Thes. anecdot. t. v. p. 1795.*

sened, for such fear and suffering will contribute to humble him. Let none of his accomplices be permitted to approach him, lest they encourage him, or teach him to answer with artifice, and not to betray any one. Let no other approach him, unless it be, from time to time, two adroit believers, who may advise him cautiously, and as if they had compassion upon him, to deliver himself from death, to confess where he has erred and upon what points, and who may promise him that if he do this he shall escape being burned. For the fear of death, and the love of life sometimes soften a heart, which cannot be affected in any other manner. Let them speak to him also in an encouraging manner, saying, *Be not afraid to confess, if you have given credit to these men when they said such and such things, because you believed them virtuous. If you heard them willingly, if you assisted them with your property, if you confessed yourself to them, it was because you loved all whom you believed to be good people, and because you knew nothing ill respecting them. The same might happen to men much wiser than you, who might also be deceived by them.* If he begins then to soften, and to grant that he has, in some place, heard these teachers speak concerning the gospels or the epistles, you must then ask him, cautiously, if these teachers believed such and such things, for example, if they denied the existence of purgatory, or the efficacy of prayers for the dead, or if they pre-

tended that a wicked priest, bound by sin, cannot absolve others, or what they say about the sacraments of the church? Afterwards, you must ask them, cautiously, whether they regard this doctrine as good and true, for he who grants this, has thereby confessed his heresy . . . Whereas if you had asked him bluntly whether he believed the same things, he would not have answered, because he would have suspected that you wished to take advantage of him and accuse him as a heretic . . . These are very subtle foxes, and you can only take them by a crafty subtlety.¹"

We will add here a last instruction given by the inquisitor, the author of this work to his brother, drawn from his personal experience. "Note," says he, "that the inquisitor ought always to suppose a fact, without any proof, and only inquire after the circumstances of the fact. For example, he should say, How many times hast thou confessed thyself to the heretics? or, in what chamber have the heretics slept in thy house? or similar things."

"In like manner the inquisitor may, from time to time, consult a book, as if he had the life of the heretic written there, and all the questions that he was to put to him."

"Likewise, when a heretic confesses himself to him, he ought to impose upon him the duty of

¹ *Tractatus de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno. Thes. Anecdot. t. v, p. 1787*

accusing his accomplices, otherwise he would not give a sign of true penitence."

"Likewise, when a heretic either does not fully confess his errors, or does not accuse his accomplices, you must say to him in order to terrify him, Very well, we see how it is. Think of thy soul, and fully renounce heresy, for thou art about to die, and nothing remains but to receive with true penitence all that shall happen to thee. And if he then says: Since I must die, I had rather die in my own faith than in that of the church; then it is certain that his repentance was feigned, and he may be delivered up to justice."²

We have thought it our duty to dwell the longer on this new method of procedure against the heretics, and on the instructions given to the judges for the examination of consciences, because the form which was prescribed to them for their interrogatories, was soon after introduced into the criminal procedure, where it produced a revolution in the state of France. It was by artifices similar to these, by such moral tortures, that it was endeavoured to extort confessions from the accused, as soon as the suppression of the judicial combats rendered the office of the judge more complicated. The priests, as more skilful, as more accustomed by the confessional to penetrate into the secrets of conscience, gave the example, and in some measure established the theory of interrogatories. Ne-

² *Tractatus de Hæresi Thes. Anecd. tom. v, p. 1793.*

vertheless, it appears that at this period they had not added torture, properly so called, to their other means of investigation. There is no mention made of it in either of the instructions for the inquisitors, which we have under our eyes. Half a century later its use became as frequent as it was atrocious, both in the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. The interrogatory of the suspected was not the only part of the procedure in which the practice of the inquisition influenced the courts of justice; the inquest by witnesses received from it also a new character. Every thing had been public in the ancient French jurisprudence, both under the Merovingians, where the citizens judged each other in their *malli*, and under the first of the Capets, in the baronial courts, where the peers of the accused sate in judgment upon him. But the monks, on the contrary, surrounded themselves with thick darkness ; all was secret in their inquests ; they suppressed the confrontation of witnesses, and even concealed, from the accused, the names of those who had deposed against them.³

The heretics supported their doctrines by the authority of the holy Scriptures ; the first indication of heresy was, therefore, considered to be the citation either of the epistles or the gospels ; secondly, any exhortation against lying ; and finally, any signs of compassion shown to the prisoners

³ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xl, p. 692.*

of the inquisition.⁴ The council of Toulouse for the first time decided, that the reading of the holy books should not be permitted to the people. “ We prohibit, says the fourteenth canon, p. 430, the laics from having the books of the Old and New Testament ; unless it be at most that any one wishes to have, from devotion, a psalter, a breviary for the divine offices, or the hours of the blessed Mary ; but we forbid them, in the most express manner, to have the above books translated into the vulgar tongue.”⁵ The following article merits also attention. “ We command that whoever shall be accused of heresy or noted with suspicion shall be deprived of the assistance of a physician. Likewise when a sick person shall have received the holy communion of his priest, it is our will that he be watched with the greatest care to the day of his death or convalescence, that no heretic or one suspected of heresy may have access to him.”

The establishment of the inquisition in Langue-doc, was not, however, followed by a number of executions proportioned to the expectations of the orthodox. Many of the converted were obliged to wear upon their breast two crosses of a different colour from their clothes, to quit places suspected of heresy, and to establish themselves

⁴ *Tractatus de Hæres. Anecdot. Thes. tom. v, p. 1784—1786.*

⁵ *Labbei Consil. Tolosan. t. xi, p. 427 et seq. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. xxix, n. 58.*

in cities zealous for the catholic faith, where the eyes of all were drawn upon them by the costume to which they had been condemned. Others, who were regarded as more culpable, or more suspected, were, in spite of their conversion, imprisoned for the remainder of their lives, or, in the language of the inquisition, were *immured*. But as for those who were called perfect heretics, or the relapsed, it became very difficult to find any in the province. It was in vain that the bishop Fouquet, having converted one of the most celebrated of the sect, William de Soliers, caused him to be reestablished, that he might testify his zeal in denouncing his ancient fellow-religionists. It was in vain that he ordered, by a most particular favour, that the testimony of this new convert should be considered equal to that of one of the faithful who had never erred.⁶ The reformed church had already been destroyed by the preceding massacres ; some few individuals who were timid, and unstable in their faith, had alone been able to escape by frequently denying their belief. It was upon them, that the inquisition exercised, henceforward, all its severity. Terror became extreme, suspicion universal, all teaching of the proscribed doctrine had ceased, the very sight of a book made the people tremble, and ignorance was for the greater number a salutary guarantee.

The reform had arisen from the first advance-

⁶ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xl, p. 692.*

ment in literature, from the first application of reason to religious instruction ; by thickening the darkness, by striking the minds of men with terror, they could not fail to arrest this fermentation, and to bring back their consciences to a blind submission and to their hereditary belief.

By a strange contrast, the university of Toulouse sprung from this persecution. It was founded with the inquisition, and by those who wished to inthrall the human mind. But it was the desire of the church, that, in the very place where the reprobated doctrines had been taught, there should henceforth be no other teachers than her own, nor any other study but that of the orthodox theology. Consequently the count of Toulouse was enjoined to maintain in his capital, for ten years, at his own expence, professors and masters of theology and canon law. But it is impossible at the same time to excite and restrain the human mind. Encouragement given to one science is favourable to others. The school of canon law, which was founded at Toulouse and which collected together a number of young men, shewed the necessity of establishing also a school of civil law, then another for literature, and the university was thus gradually completed, in some respects in spite of those to whom it owed its foundation.⁷

1229. Whilst Raymond VII delivered up his country to its persecutors, he submitted himself

⁷ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. li, p. 377.*

on the 12th of April to the most humiliating penance. He repaired, with his feet naked, and with only his shirt and trowsers, to the church of Notre-Dame at Paris; there the cardinal, Romano di Sant. Angelo, met him, and, after administering the discipline upon his naked shoulders, conducted him to the foot of the grand altar, where he declared that, on account of his humility and devotion, he pronounced his absolution; under this condition, however, that he should again fall under the preceding excommunication if he failed to observe the treaty of Paris. Raymond was afterwards confined, for six weeks, in his prison of the Louvre, whilst his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners, his strong castles were opened to them, and the wall of his capital, to the extent of three thousand feet, was thrown down. On his release from captivity, Louis IX received his homage for the fiefs which still remained to him, knighted him on the 3rd of June, the day of Pentecost, and allowed him to return to his country.⁸

As long as the bishop Fouquet lived, the residence of Raymond VII at Toulouse was embittered by the ferocity of a prelate, who thought that he could only honour God by sacrificing human victims, and who had long been obliged to tear from their lord those whom he demanded to offer upon his altars. Daily denunciations, and

⁸ *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiv, ch. lviii, p. 380.

every kind of humiliation, caused the count of Toulouse to live in continual dread of new excommunications, and a new crusade. Happily, Fouquet at last died, on Christmas-day, 1231, after an episcopate of twenty-eight years, and Raymond VII then experienced a diminution of the severities to which he had hitherto been exposed.⁹ He obtained from the court of Rome, first a respite, and afterwards a dispensation from proceeding to the Holy Land, according to his engagement; and if he could succeed in silencing the reproaches of honour and conscience, he might, from that time, enjoy a sort of peace, in the domains which were still spared to him.

Notwithstanding the engagement which count Raymond had entered into, and which he partly executed, to make war upon the count of Foix, he continued to interest himself for that ancient ally, and succeeded in obtaining peace for him, on the 16th of June, 1229, on conditions analogous to his own.¹ But his other ally, the young Trencavel, heir of the viscounties of Beziers and of Carcassonne, could obtain no mercy. All his heritage was already united to the domain of the crown, and he had no resource but to retire to the court of the king of Aragon. On the other hand, two French houses were formed in Albi-

⁹ *Præclara Francor. facinora*, p. 778. *Guil. de Podio Laur. c. xli*, p. 693.

¹ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, *liv. xxiv, ch. lxi*, p. 381. *P. de Marca, Hist. de Bearn. liv. viii, ch. xxi, § viii—x*, p. 756.

geois, and preserved their establishment as a monument of the crusade. One was that of Simon de Montfort, whose nephew Philip, son of Guy, obtained in fief from Louis IX, the lordship of Castres, or that part of Albigeois, situated on the left of the Tarn ; the other was that of Levis, who retained, under the name of a mareschall's estate, that portion of the diocese of Toulouse, which was afterwards detached to form the diocese of Mirepoix and Pamiers.²

The pacification of Albigeois, and the submission of Raymond of Toulouse made also a change in the political state of the provinces situated on the left side of the Rhone, or in the kingdom of Arles. Raymond VII possessed there an extensive domain, designated by the name of *Marquisate of Provence*, out of the fragments of which was afterwards formed the principality of Orange and the countship of Venaissin. He had ceded this territory to the pope, and to cardinal Romano di Sant. Angelo, in his name, but as it was then suffering under a famine, the legate gave the pope to understand that the charge of it would be burdensome, and that the church would be a gainer, by remitting it to queen Blanche. Adam de Milly, vicegerent of the King of France, in the province of Narbonne, and the seneschal of Beaucaire were therefore charged with the administration of these provinces, till the church should restore the pos-

² *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. liv, p. 378.*

session to Raymond VII.³ Nevertheless, the cession made to the church by this prince, of that part of his domain, is almost the sole origin of the pretensions of the court of Rome to the sovereignty of the countship of Venaissin.⁴

The queen Blanche had by the treaty of Paris united to the states of her son a very important province, which for the first time placed the domain of the crown of France in communication with the Mediterranean Sea, on which it displayed about thirty leagues of coast. The acquisition of fields covered with the richest harvests of the South, of cities which had been animated by commerce and industry, of a population which had already developed its understanding and tasted of liberty, really augmented the royal authority more than any other fief of the same extent in a less favoured climate could have done. It would appear however that Blanche hoped to conceal from the eyes of the vassals of the crown and from her rivals the importance of these acquisitions, for she neither formed a new administration, nor appointed new officers, to govern her conquests. Louis VIII, after taking possession of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, had intrusted to a seneschal the command of each of these cities. Blanche extended their jurisdiction, so that they might embrace all the countries which she had

³ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. lxvi, p. 385. Preuves, § excvi, p. 346.*

⁴ *Bouche, Hist. de Provence, liv. ix, sect. ii, p. 223.*

obtained from the count of Toulouse. The remainder of Languedoc which had been left to Raymond VII was not finally united to the crown till the year 1271, and the death of count Raymond's daughter.⁵

All kinds of oppression now pressed at once upon the people. They suffered, at the same time, from the arbitrary extent and the capricious exercise of the royal authority, from the power of the nobles, from the power of the priests, and from the power of the proprietors of the soil, who claimed, also, a property in the persons of their villains. But in this state of universal suffering, the people of France, as well as those of the rest of Europe, appeared to resign themselves to the ills which were inflicted on their bodies, and only demanded liberty for their souls. The sanctuary of conscience was the only one the entrance to which they still endeavoured to defend, surrounded as they were by such a host of tyrannies. We cannot reflect, without emotion, that tormented by necessities, by cares, and by sorrows, the independence of the mind was the only boon they demanded, and that this was refused them by their suspicious masters, with the same unfeeling cruelty as the rest.

1231—1236. The reform which had commenced in Albigeois had been extinguished there by the arms of half Europe. Blood never ceased to flow,

⁵ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. xlvi, p. 375.*

nor the flames to devour their victims in these provinces now abandoned to the dark fanaticism of the inquisitors. But that terror which had dispersed the heretics, had also scattered sparks through all Europe, by which the torch of reason might be again rekindled. No voice, no outward appearance announced the preaching of reform, or troubled the public tranquillity. Yet, the proscribed Albigenses, who, far from their country, had found an asylum in the cottage of the peasant, or the poor artisan, whose labours they shared in profound obscurity, had taught their hosts to read the gospel in common, to pray in their native tongue without the ministry of priests, to praise God, and gratefully submit to the chastisements which his hand inflicted, as the means of their sanctification. In vain did the inquisition believe that it had compelled human reason to submission, and established an invariable rule of faith. In the midst of the darkness which it had created, it saw, all at once, some luminous points appear where it would least have expected them. Its efforts to extinguish, served only to scatter them, and no sooner had it conquered, than it was compelled to renew the combat.

Gregory IX, who had deemed the very soil of Languedoc polluted, by its having produced so many sectaries, and that the count of Toulouse could not be innocent, whilst he had so many heretics amongst his subjects, all at once discovered,

with alarm, that even at Rome he was surrounded with heretics. To give an example to Christendom, he caused a great number of them to be burned before the gates of Santa Maria Majora; he afterwards imprisoned, in the convents of la Cava, and of the monte Cassino, those who were priests or clerks, and who had been publickly degraded, with those that had given signs of penitence.⁶ At the same time, he caused the senator of Rome to promulgate an edict, which determined the different punishments to be assigned to the heretics, to those who encouraged them, to those who should give them an asylum, and to those who neglected to accuse them; always dividing the confiscations between the spy who denounces, and the judge who condemns, that the scaffolds might never be left without victims; a combination which the Roman court has not renounced to this day.⁷ He sent the senators' edict and his own bull to the archbishop of Milan, to engage him to follow his example. He afterwards profited by his recent reconciliation with Frederic II, to announce to him, that Catharins, Paterins, Poor of Lyons, and other heretics, formed in the school of the Albigenses, had, at the same time, appeared in Lombardy and in the two Sicilies, and to obtain from his friendship an edict which has gained him the

⁶ Raynaldi *Annal. Eccles.* A. 1231, xiii et xiv, p. 415. Richardi de Sanc. Germano *Chr.* t. vii, p. 1206. *Vita Gregorii IX, a Cardinal.* Aragonio. t. iii. p. 578.

⁷ *Capitula Annibaldi Senatoris ap. Raynald.* *Ann. Eccles.* 1231, 16 et 17.

eulogium of the annalist of the church, and has been deposited in the pontifical archives. By this edict, the emperor commanded all podestats and other judges, immediately to deliver to the flames every man who should be convicted of heresy by the bishop of his diocese, and to pull out the tongue of those to whom the bishop should think it proper to show favour, that they might not corrupt others, by attempting to justify themselves.⁸ After having thus raged in Italy against the fugitive Albigenses and their disciples, Gregory IX did not forget to pursue them in France. He wrote to the archbishop of Bourges, and to the bishop of Auxerre, to exhort them to show themselves worthy of the sacred ordination they had received, by committing to the flames all the heretics that had been discovered at la Charité upon the Loire.⁹

The pope might have concluded, from seeing the apostles of the Albigensian reformation spread through a great part of Europe, that he had but ill served his church, by granting them no respite in their own country. He did not, however, reason thus, but on the contrary, endeavoured to redouble the ardour of the persecutions in the countship of Toulouse, by giving Raymond VII to expect that he would, on this condition, restore to him the marquisate of Provence. Raymond, either converted or terrified, no longer refused any act of inquisition or of cruelty against his unhappy

⁸ *Raynaldi Annal. Eccles.* 1231, § 18.

⁹ *Ibid.* § 23.

subjects. In 1232 he consented to associate himself with the new bishop of Toulouse, to surprise by night a house in which they discovered nineteen relapsed men and women, whom they caused to perish in the flames.¹ Notwithstanding this shameful condescension, the condition of count Raymond was scarcely ameliorated. Sometimes he was suspected by the bishops of his states, of not seconding them sincerely in their persecutions. Sometimes it pleased them to humble him, only to imitate their predecessors, or perhaps, to enrich themselves with his spoils. Gregory IX was himself obliged to recommend him to the bishop of Tournay, his legate in the province, inviting him "to water him kindly, as a young plant, and to nourish him with the milk of the church."²

Others of the Albigenses had found a refuge in the province of Gascony, which depended on the king of England, but where the authority of the government was almost absolutely disregarded, so that the heretics, masters of the strong castles, defended themselves by open force. Gregory IX wrote to the knights of Saint James of Galicia, to exterminate them with fire and sword, and he charged the archbishops of Auch and of Bourdeaux, to give every kind of succour to these knights.³

¹ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. lxxxi, p. 392.*

² *Gregorii IX epistola in tom. XI. Concil. Labbei ep. xxiii, p. 361. ep. xxvii, p. 363.*

³ *Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1232, § xxvi, p. 430.*

Rome was soon after alarmed by the news, that the same reform, which had been so often extinguished, yet was always breaking out afresh, had first appeared in the centre of Germany, and that the city of Stettin was subjected to those same heretics, who, as they thought, had been extirpated in Languedoc. Gregory addressed bulls to the bishops of Minden, of Lubeck, and of Rachhasbourg in Styria, to induce them to preach up a crusade against the heretics.⁴ In order to excite greater horror against these sectaries, the most fearful things were related concerning them, which excited as much astonishment as they did abomination. A hideous toad, said the pope, was presented at once to the adoration and the caresses of the initiated. The same being, who was no other than the devil, afterwards took, successively, different forms, all equally revolting, and all offered to the salutations of his worshippers.⁵ Such an accusation could not fail of success. The fanatics took arms in crowds, under the conduct of the German bishops. The duke of Brabant and the count of Holland joined them, and took the command of this army of the cross. Those amongst the sectaries, who were not in a condition to carry arms, or who had not taken refuge in the strong places, were first brought to judgment; and, in the year 1233, “an innumerable

⁴ Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1232, § viii, 427.

⁵ Epistola Gregorii IX apud Raynald. Ann. Eccles. 1233, § xlvi, p. 447.

multitude of heretics was burned alive, through all Germany : a still greater number was converted."⁶ The army of the crusaders afterwards marched against Stettin : the sectaries had the boldness to arrest them in the open field ; but six thousand of them were destroyed in the combat, others were driven into the Oder and drowned, and the whole race was exterminated.⁷

Gregory IX, rejoicing in his success, thought he might now occupy himself with converting the powerful military colony of Saracens, which Frederic II had established at Nocera. As these musulmans spoke the Italian language, he commissioned the dominican friars to go and preach Christianity⁸ to them. But Frederic, who had already disputed with the pope, and who very well knew that he might quarrel with him again, was not greatly pleased with these proselyting efforts to shake the fidelity of the only soldiers of his army who were not dependent upon the monks. Religion was with him only a branch of politics, and after having established, in each province, and in each city of the two Sicilies, a tribunal composed of a priest and a laic, for the burning of the heretics, he had brought before this tribunal all the rebels whom he had vanquished ; and, amongst others, had burned, to the great scandal

⁶ Concilium Moguntinum contra Stadingos in Labbei Concil. gen. t. xi, p. 478.

⁷ Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1234, § xlivi, p. 462.

⁸ Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1233, § xxiv, p. 443.

of the holy father, some insurgents at Messina, who were guilty of no other heresy, than that of having resisted his will.⁹

Gregory IX, therefore, turned towards France, the only country in Christendom where persecution was unmitigated, and fully satisfied his heart. It was there that he established that tribunal to which he confided the defence of the faith, rendering it independent, not only of the civil power, but also of the prelates and all the secular clergy. The family of Saint Dominic, or the order of the preachers, known in France under the name of Jacobins, which this father had founded, appeared to Gregory fittest to receive this trust. Saint Dominic died at Boulogne on the 6th of August, 1221. He protested on his death bed, in the presence of his brethren, that he had preserved his virginity to that hour. Such chastity in a monk was reckoned a thing hitherto unheard of, and almost miraculous; and the indefatigable zeal, with which he had consecrated his life to the extirpation of the heretics, was greatly admired. On the 13th of July, 1233, Gregory IX commissioned three priests to inquire into the miracles which had been wrought by the invocation of Saint Dominic, or around his tomb, and upon the 3rd of July, 1234, his canonisation was definitely pronounced.¹

⁹ *Gregorii epist. ad Freder. apud Raynaldi Ann. Eccles.* 1233, § xxxiii, xxiv, p. 445.

¹ *Raynaldi Ann. Eccles.* 1233, § xxxix, p. 446 et 1234, § xxiv, p. 458.

It was at the same period when the court of Rome was occupied with the canonisation of Saint Dominic, that it published, in the month of April, 1233, the bull by which it confided to the dominicans alone the exercise of the Inquisition, under pretence of preventing the bishops from being interrupted in the exercise of their pastoral functions. The provinces of Bourges, Bourdeaux, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Aix, and Embrun, which comprehended all that part of France where the Provençal language was spoken, were particularly confided to them, though their authority, and power to proceed by sentence against the accused, extended over the whole kingdom.² Gregory IX the same year addressed a great number of letters to Louis IX, exhorting him "to unite his zeal with that of the monks of the order of preachers, and to inflict upon the relapsed heretics, convicted by the inquisitors, their merited punishments."³ He also recommended the dominicans to all the prelates of the kingdom, to the counts of Toulouse, and of Foix, and to all the other counts, viscounts, barons, and seneschals, of France, with all the barons of Aquitaine, praying them to favour these monks in the execution of their commission. The bishop of Tournay, legate of the holy see, to whom Gregory IX had committed the final organisation of the inquisition,

² *Chron. Guillelmi de Podio Laur.* ch. xlili, p. 694.

³ *Raynaldi Ann. Eccles.* 1233, § lix, p. 450.

named two dominicans at Toulouse, and two in each city of the province, to form the tribunal of the faith.⁴ He gave them an instruction in which he enumerated the errors of the heretics, and the series of questions by which, without alarming them, they might be brought to implicate themselves sufficiently, or to denounce their accomplices. In the exposition, made by the bishop of Tournay, of the errors of the Albigenses, we find nearly all the principles upon which Luther and Calvin founded the reformation of the sixteenth century. Thus the Albigenses did not believe in transubstantiation, in the efficacy of indulgences, in the validity of absolution, or in the inability of those, who were not priests, to perform the mysteries of religion. But the bishop of Tournay pretends, that the heretics mingled with these articles of belief, which he denounces as their peculiar tenets, absurd, disgusting, or atrocious, practices, which he also details, to render them odious to the populace.⁵

Whilst the bishop of Tournay was labouring at the new organisation of the inquisition it appeared to him that the count of Toulouse shewed neither sufficient severity nor activity in the pursuit of heresy. He therefore accused him to the king of not having fully executed the orders of the holy see, or the treaty of Paris. In the autumn of

⁴ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, c. lxxxvii, p. 394.*

⁵ *Preuves de l'Hist. de Languedoc, No. cxxiv, p. 371.*

1233, Raymond VII was constrained to repair to Melun, with the legate, the archbishop of Narbonne, and many other bishops, to hold a conference with Louis IX and his mother. At that meeting the inquisition received a new sanction from the authority of the king. Raymond subscribed the statutes which were presented to him. By those statutes, which were afterwards published in his name and have come down to us, he engaged to pursue and exterminate those who had killed the persecutors of the heretics, and to reward with a mark of silver, whoever should denounce, arrest, or cause to be arrested, a heretic; to cause every house to be pulled down in which an asylum had been offered to one of the proscribed, or even where he might have found a burial; to confiscate the goods of those who should have rendered them any kind office; to destroy every lonely cottage, every grotto, every fastness, where they might find a refuge; to take from the children of the heretics, and confiscate, whatever property they might have inherited from their parents; to punish, by the confiscation of all their goods, and that without prejudice to corporal punishments, all those who, being called upon by the inquisitors to assist in the arrest of a heretic, should either refuse, or, by design, should suffer the accused to escape. In these same statutes, imposed upon count Raymond, numerous articles were added to the preceding, to

reach those who should endeavour by quitting their homes, or conveying their property by fictitious sales, or by other means, to escape from the rapacity of the officers. These articles agreed on at Melun were afterwards published at Toulouse on the 18th of February, 1234.⁶ A council held at Beziers, in the same year, under the presidency of the legate, added still more to this oppression by permitting any of the faithful to arrest every suspected person, in any place whatsoever, upon an accusation of heresy, and by threatening with the heaviest penalties those who should in any way obstruct these private arrests, as soon as the word heresy was pronounced.⁷

The reader is, doubtless, wearied with the repetition of the same decrees, the same menaces, and the same horrors ; but if we did not follow the persecutors in the annual renewal of their laws, and of their sanguinary acts, we should give a very false idea of the progress of power, and of the sufferings of the people. Heresy was not destroyed by those violent shocks, after which we may at least be permitted to enjoy the peace and silence of the tomb. These disastrous revolutions were succeeded by a protracted agony, but tranquillity was never restored ; persecution was never suspended, even by the death of its victims. The only expedient for maintaining the unity of the

⁶ *Statuta Raymondi comitis in Concil. gener. Labbei, tom. xi, p. 413.*

⁷ *Statuta Concilii Biterrensis in Conc. gener. Labbei, tom. xi p. 452.*

faith which the church had ever known, was to burn those who separated from it. For two hundred years the fires had been kindled, yet every day catholics abandoned the faith of their fathers to embrace that which must conduct them to the flames. It was in vain that Gregory IX had destroyed in 1231 all the heretics who had been concealed at Rome, and in the states of the church; numerous letters addressed by him in 1235 to all the bishops of that part of Italy, announced, that notwithstanding the severity of the inquisitors, the paterins had made fresh progress.⁸ A council was also held the same year in France, at Narbonne, where the archbishops of Narbonne, of Arles, and of Aix, presided, which addressed a circular to the inquisitors of the three provinces, declaring, likewise, that heresy had broken out afresh.⁹

Amongst the twenty-nine articles of this circular, which was to serve for instruction to the inquisitors, there is none where the punishment of death is expressly pronounced, though in most of them it is understood by the hypocritical phrase of *delivering the criminal to the secular arm*. In fact death was the invariable consequence of revolt or relapse, and the great business of the council of Narbonne, appears to have been (§ 10, 11, 12) to multiply the cases in which, by a fiction of law, they might apply the punishment of relapse

⁸ Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1235, § xv—xix, p. 467.

⁹ Labbei Concilia gener. tom. xi. p. 487.

or revolt. The forms of procedure prescribed by this circular are perhaps more important than even the definition of the crimes. "As to those you are to arrest," say the prelates, § 19, "we think proper to add, that no man can be exempted from imprisonment, on account of his wife, however young she may be; no woman, on account of her husband; nor both of them on account of their children, their relations, or those to whom they are most necessary. Let not any one be exempted from prison, on account of weakness, or age, or any similar cause.... If you have not succeeded in arresting them, hesitate not to proceed against the absent, as if they were present, § 22; take particular care, in conformity with the discerning will of the apostolic see, not to publish by word or sign the names of the witnesses; and if the culprit pretends, that he has enemies and that they have conspired against him, ask the names of those enemies, and the cause of that conspiracy, for thus you will provide for the safety of the witnesses, and the conviction of the accused. § 24. On account of the enormity of this crime, you ought to admit, in proof of it, the testimony of criminals, of infamous persons, and of accomplices. § 26. He who persists in denying a fault, of which he may be convicted by witnesses, or by any other proof, must be considered, without hesitation, as an impenitent heretic.¹

¹ *Labbei Concil. gen. tom. xi, p. 488—501.*

Such favour shewn to informers, such precipitation in pronouncing the ruin of a family, struck with terror those who were the most attached to the catholic faith, and even those who had to reproach themselves with their share in the preceding persecutions. The patience of the Languedocians was exhausted; the capitouls of Toulouse, who formed the municipal magistracy, wished to oppose the continuance of these inquests. They could no longer bear the spectacle daily presented to them by the inquisitors, of digging up the half-putrified bodies of those against whom informations had been laid, and after the mockery of a trial, dragging them on a hurdle to the flames, through all the streets of the city. The capitouls expelled from the city the chaplains of the parochial churches, who had been employed by the inquisitors in citing witnesses, and they prohibited the latter from appearing or deposing in future.² The friar, William Arnold, grand inquisitor, would not recognize the authority of the magistracy, and he took his departure on the 5th of November, 1235. The next day the forty jacobin monks, who were in the convent of St. Dominic, quitted the city in procession. On the 10th of the same month, excommunication was pronounced against Toulouse, and Raymond VII, who happened then to be with Frederic II in Alsace, was, nevertheless,

² *Martene Thesaurus Anecdot.* tom. i, p. 992.

included in the same sentence,³ although he hastened to make his submission, and recall the inquisitors. It was not till the end of the year 1236 that he could obtain his absolution ; and Gregory IX charged it as a crime against the emperor, that he had communicated with this count, in spite of the sentence that had been passed upon him.⁴

In France, as well as throughout the rest of Europe, in the middle age, wherever great cities were found, there was also a principle of liberty ; whenever these great cities were adjacent, and could combine their efforts, there was a principle of political power for the people. The early multiplication of cities, in certain regions, is a fact which it is not always easy to explain. The first rays of history, in the middle age, discover to us a population, numerous and united in certain provinces, and thin and scattered in others. Whether these cities had been preserved from the early times of the Roman empire, or whether the richness of the soil, commerce, and a wiser government, had enabled them to repair their losses, we cannot determine. Next to Italy, Provence and Languedoc displayed the richest and most populous cities. The war against the Albigenses had not been able to destroy this superiority in

³ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. v, p. 404.*

⁴ *Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxiv, ch. viii, p. 407. Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1236. § xxxix—xlvi, p. 484.*

riches and population. The spirit of the communes, which was fermenting in all the cities of France, assumed a more republican character in these provinces.

The south of France, which, by the riches of its cities, and the spirit of its inhabitants, presented at that time the image of Italy, was, besides, not uniformly submitted to the same monarchy. The immediate authority of Louis IX only extended over the two districts of Beaucaire and Carcassonne. Provence held from the empire; Aquitaine belonged to the king of England; Montpellier, Perpignan, and some neighbouring lordships, to the king of Aragon; and a part of Languedoc to the Count of Toulouse. These were, it is true, all three vassals of the crown of France; but vassals so powerful, that the will of the king was not even consulted, about extending or restraining the privileges of the citizens. Nothing indicates to us that Louis IX had occupied himself with the republican fermentation, in the cities of the south. On the contrary, it was more connected with the policy of the emperor Frederic II, who, at this period attracted, much more than the young king of France, the attention of all Europe; and the revolutions which were now preparing in Italy, must also have had an influence upon all the cities of the provençal language.

Frederic II and Gregory IX, too proud and too ambitious to divide their power between them, had

given way afresh to mutual animosities. New subjects of dispute seemed every day to arise, and every day their correspondence became more bitter, and their mutual recriminations announced an approaching explosion. They were, nevertheless, still at peace, though each suspected the other as the secret ally of all his enemies. Each, in fact, nourished the popular passions in the states of his rival; not from a desire of favouring justice or liberty, the rights or the happiness of the people, but only in order to embarrass and weaken him, whom at present he dared not call his enemy. Frederic excited Pietro Frangipani to stir up the Romans against the government of the pope, and to name independent magistrates,⁵ whilst Gregory IX corresponded with the citizens of Milan, who had renewed the siege of Lombardy, and still kept the field against the emperor.⁶ Frederic II took under his protection the republics, or the imperial cities in Provence, which had declared themselves free, because Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, and father-in-law of Saint Louis, had shewn himself zealous in the cause of the church. Although the kingdom of Arles held from the empire, Frederic II well knew that he should derive no advantage from this pretended sovereignty. Far from feeling any jealousy at the extension which

⁵ *Richardi de Sancto Germano, tom. vii, 1037.* *Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1237, § xiii—xv, f. 494.*

⁶ *Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1237, § i—xii, p. 493.*

the cities of Marseilles and Avignon sought to give to their privileges, he knew that by declaring himself their protector, against their direct lord, he should attach them so much the more to himself, as he should render them more free, and that the occupation which he should thereby give to Raymond Berenger, would prevent him from assisting the pope in Lombardy.⁷

Of the four republics of Provence, that of Nice had already fallen. It had been reduced on the 9th of November, 1229, in spite of all the aid afforded by the republic of Genoa, to open its gates to Raymond Berenger, and acknowledge him as absolute sovereign. The republic of Arles, which the count of Provence next attacked, resisted till 1239, when it was also compelled to submission. But the two cities of Avignon and Marseilles displayed more vigour. They collected forces, repulsed the soldiers of the count of Provence, and bestowed the command of their troops, with prerogatives rather honorary than real, upon Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, who was so much the dearer to them, because they saw him exposed to the animosity of the prelates."⁸

But the republican spirit not only manifested itself in the towns of Provence, it equally animated the counsels of all the cities of the South. We

⁷ Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1237, § xxxiv, xxxvii, p. 497.

⁸ Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxv, ch. xviii, p. 412. Bouche, Hist. de Provence, tom. ii, p. 239.

have seen it exhibited at Toulouse in the resistance made by the capitouls to the inquisitors. It had been displayed in the cities submitted to the domain of king Louis, in Narbonne and Nismes, as well as at Montpellier and Perpignan, which held from the king of Aragon, and at Bayonne and Bourdeaux, which depended on the king of England. A letter written about this time, by the consuls of the town of Narbonne, to the consuls of Nismes, shews us that both those cities, though dependant on the king of France, called themselves republics; that the spirit of liberty in all the cities equally revolted against religious tyranny and civil despotism; and, that the neighbouring cities exerted their efforts to form a coalition, and to combine their resistance.

“ To the venerable and discreet Consuls of Nismes, the Consuls of the town of Narbonne, health. May the administration of your republic be just, both as to temporals and spirituals. We desire to make known to your discretion the dissension which has happened between us and the archbishop of Narbonne, as well as some of the preaching brethren, by whom our community is enormously oppressed, though it is ready to obey the right, and hear devoutly the orders of the church. And as, according to your equity, you ought to have compassion on those that are unjustly oppressed, and to obviate the ills which they suffer, we supplicate your prudence, in which we

have entire confidence, not to fear, through fatigue, to listen to our entire relation of facts, since it cannot be abridged. (We feel ourselves, however, obliged to suppress a part.) As we have said, although we are ready to conform to right in every thing, our archbishop, who wishes to destroy our consulate, has involved us in a sentence of excommunication, with all our counsellors, all who pay the tribute which we levy for the government of our republic, with all the collectors. He has also submitted to a general interdict our whole university, our wives, and our children. As the height of severity, he has forbidden under pain of anathema to all our notaries, who hold any public office, to perform any act for any member of the community. He has prohibited to the physicians the practice of medicine, and to the priests to admit any one to communion and penitence, unless it be in the article of death, and also by paying eight livres and a denier to be released from that sentence."

The consuls of Narbonne afterwards relate, with long details, the causes and circumstances of their quarrel with the archbishop, and the vexations they endure on the part of the inquisitors. They affirm that these, despising all the rules of justice, thought of nothing but to get possession of the property of the rich, even when they were exposed to no suspicion of heresy. They add, that when the inquisitors had plundered them,

sometimes they dismissed them without trial, and sometimes they caused them to perish in prison, without pronouncing any sentence upon them. They then proceed to give examples of the interrogatories of the inquisitors, to which it was impossible to reply without being convicted of heresy. The greater part of these questions are as improper to be repeated, as they were incapable of being answered, being frivolous, captious, and indecent ; but they afterwards passed to others of a somewhat different kind. “ They demanded of these simple laics, if the host which the priest consecrated contains all the body of Jesus Christ? If the laic answers that it contains the entire body of Jesus Christ, the inquisitor directly replies : You believe then that when four priests, who are in one church, consecrate each of them a host, as they ought to do, each of these hosts contains the body of Jesus Christ ? If the laic replies that he believes so, you think then, replies the inquisitor, that there are four Gods ? Then the affrighted laic affirms the contrary.”⁹

This letter, which was written about the year 1234, appears rather destined to be a protest, or an appeal to public opinion, than a demand of effective succour. The distance between the cities of southern France was too great to allow of the one marching its militia to the assistance of the others. Neither do we know what reply the cit-

⁹ *Hist. de la ville de Nîmes*, tom. 1, liv. iii, p. 307. *Preuves*, No. liii, p. 73.

izens of Nismes addressed to those of Narbonne. Perhaps this letter gave occasion to a more close alliance; perhaps an association of the cities began to be formed in the provinces of the provençal language; and as, by following the example of the league of Lombardy, it might proceed to acquire greater consistency, perhaps it occasioned some apprehension to Gregory IX; perhaps he feared, above all, the alliance which he saw ready to be formed between several of these cities, the count of Toulouse, and the emperor Frederic II. At least, and without our being able to explain the reason, an order of the court of Rome was, in 1237, addressed to the inquisitors of Languedoc, to intimate to them, that they should suspend all inquiry after the heretics; and, in fact, throughout this province, from the year 1237 to the year 1241, the inquisition remained in a state of total inactivity.¹

1240. To the agitation which, during that period, was excited throughout all France, by a double crusade against the Greeks at Constantinople, and the Mussulmans at Jerusalem, a state of languor and discouragement succeeded, when the ill success, by which both had been attended, became fully known. The great lords, who returned from these two expeditions, entered quietly into their states, with few soldiers, few equipages, and

¹ *Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xlili, p. 695. Hist. de Languedoc, t. iii. liv. xxv, ch. xiv et xv, p. 411.*

no money ; ashamed of their failure, of their precipitate return, and of the condition in which they had left their companions in arms. The most powerful of them disappeared, for some time, from the scene, and seemed to wait quietly till their reverses were forgotten, whilst, in the period which immediately followed their return, history is occupied only with the lords who had taken no part in these expeditions

Amongst these, Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, was still one of the most powerful. He began to revive after his long sufferings. The proceedings of the inquisition had been, for a time, suspended in his country, and he endeavoured to profit by the repose which he enjoyed, and by the reverses which his enemies had experienced, to recover, in part, that consideration which he had lost by the disastrous treaty of Paris. In this hope, he cultivated the friendship of Frederic II, who appeared, at that time, sufficiently powerful to protect him against his enemies, the priests. During his misfortunes, Raymond VII had always found his neighbour, Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, ready, for his own advantage, still more to aggravate them. This count had embraced the part of the church against Frederic II, and the emperor, by a sentence pronounced at Cremona, in the month of December, 1239, had put Raymond Berenger IV to the ban of the empire, and had granted his countship of Forcalquier

to the count of Toulouse. Raymond VII, in consequence, in the month of January, 1240, assembled his army on the borders of the Rhone to attack the Provençals.²

Raymond soon took possession of a number of small places in Provence, and amongst others, of the castle of Trinquetaille, in the island of Camargue, opposite to Arles. He afterwards undertook the siege of that great city, which Raymond Berenger had compelled to submit to himself. The Marseillois, who saw, in the subjugation of that neighbouring republic, the fate with which they themselves were menaced, ardently desired to restore Arles to liberty, and seconded the attempts of Raymond with all their power. The citizens of Arles, in the mean time, joined themselves to the garrison of the count who defended their walls, that they might not remain exposed to the horrors which were always reserved for the vanquished. The resistance was prolonged during great part of the summer, and the count of Toulouse was at last obliged to raise the siege.³ He then returned by the countship of Venaissin, and remained some time at Avignon, to establish peace in that republic, where troubles had arisen on account of the election of a podestat.⁴

Several knights of the district of Carcassonne,

² *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxv, ch. xxxii, p. 419.

³ *Guill. de Podio Laur.* ch. xlili, p. 695. *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxv, ch. xxxiv, p. 419.

⁴ *Acte du 11 août 1240. Preuves de Languedoc*, p. 394.

subjects consequently of the king of France, took upon themselves to testify their zeal against the count of Toulouse, by going to the assistance of the count of Provence, but, falling into an ambuscade, they were put to the rout. Raymond, however, recognising them as French subjects, thought only of appeasing the anger which the king might feel at the action. He immediately wrote to the king, expressing his desire to remain at peace with France, and throwing the blame of the defeat they had received, upon their own imprudence. On the other side, Henry III, king of England, had written to Frederic II, to recommend to his clemency the count of Provence, his father-in-law,⁵ and, as he received from the emperor a favourable reply, it appeared that peace was about to be established upon the borders of the Rhone, when all at once, the young Trencavel, son of that Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers and of Carcassone, whom Simon de Montfort had, in 1209, caused to perish in his prisons, appeared in the country to claim the heritage of his fathers. He was accompanied by Olivier de Termes, Jourdain de Saissac, and a great number of other knights, who had been proscribed under suspicion of heresy, and had afterwards distinguished themselves in Aragon and Valencia, in the war against the Moors. Their memory was still dear to their ancient vassals ; and they were especially preferred

⁵ *Matth. Paris. Hist. Angliae*, p. 473.

to the new masters, whose yoke the people had ever since been obliged to support. At their arrival, therefore, the whole country rose in their cause. In this moment of danger, the archbishop of Narbonne and the bishop of Toulouse shut themselves up in Carcassonne, to confirm the citizens in their fidelity to the king of France. They expected to have made sure of them, by causing them to renew their oaths ; the inhabitants of the town of Carcassonne however rose in the night of the 18th of September, after celebrating the feast of the nativity of the virgin, and received Trencavel within their walls.⁶

Louis IX, early informed of the approach of those ancient exiles, took active measures to arrest a revolt which appeared to him as much directed against heaven as against himself. He dispatched into Languedoc his chamberlain, John de Beaumont, with many other knights, to collect an army with all expedition. Trencavel, apprised of the approach of the French, and not having been able during a month that he had occupied the suburbs of Carcassonne to obtain possession of the city, felt that he could not maintain himself there, and abandoned it on the 11th of September, to shut himself up in Montreal. He sustained there a long siege, and when at last he was forced to surrender the place to John de Beaumont, it

⁶ *Hist. gén de Languedoc, liv. xxv, ch. xxxviii, p. 421. Chron. de Saint Denys, p. 57.*

was by an honourable capitulation, which permitted him to retire into Catalonia with all his knights.⁷ But, on the other hand, the inhabitants, and all those who not being gentlemen were judged unworthy of being included in the capitulation, were treated by John de Beaumont with that rigour in which the fanatics glory when they imagine themselves called upon to avenge the cause of God. Nangis gives us no details ; he only says of the king's lieutenant, “ We may with truth apply to him the words of Scripture, *In his wrath he stamped the earth with his feet, and the nations were dumb with astonishment, at beholding his fury.*⁸

During the expedition of Trencavel, Raymond count of Toulouse had remained in suspense respecting the part he ought to take ; but when he saw that lord obliged again to quit the country, his partisans given up to punishment, the French flocking to range themselves under the royal standards, and Louis IX employing all his activity to arrest the rebellion, he was afraid of seeing the crusades against Albigeois renewed in all their fury, and resolved upon disarming the church and the French by an entire submission. He treated first with the cardinal legate, James bishop of Prenestum. He engaged, before the 1st of March, 1241, to abandon the cause of the emperor, who

⁷ *Hist. gén. de Languedoc, liv. xxv, ch. xxxix, p. 422.*

⁸ *Gesta Ludovici IX, p. 334. Praeclara Francor. facinora, p. 778, 779 Guill. Guiart, Branche aux royaux lignages, p. 135.*

had been again excommunicated by Gregory IX, and who was endeavouring to avenge himself upon the weakest cities of the states of the church. Raymond even promised to assist, with all his power, the Roman church *against Frederic II who called himself emperor*, and against all who supported his pretended rights.⁹ Raymond afterwards set out for the court of France, and having found Louis IX at Montargis, swore to him on the 14th of March to assist him “towards and against all”, to drive from his country the *faydits*, or those who had been proscribed on account of their faith, and to assist the king in destroying them in that part of Languedoc which belonged to him. Raymond, on his return to Toulouse, made peace also with Raymond Berenger count of Provence, and, on the 18th of April, at Lunel, signed a treaty with the king of Aragon.¹

1242. Raymond VII made still one more struggle to free himself and his country, before the chains of slavery were finally and irrevocably riveted upon him. He took advantage of the war between England and the French barons, and Louis IX, to form a league with the kings of Spain, who possessed fiefs in France, and the great lords of the Provençal language. Although abandoned in the moment of trial by the greater part of his allies, he, in the month of April, 1242,

⁹ *Hist. de Langued.* *liv. xxv, c. xli, p. 423.* *Preuves no. cxxxiv, p. 399.*

¹ *Hist. de Langued.* *liv. xxv, c. xli, p. 423.* *Preuves no. cxxxiv, p. 400.*

held an assembly of the lords at the foot of the Pyrenees, who were for the greater part his vassals, and who agreed in concert with him to declare war against France. Roger count of Foix was the first who promised to second him with all his forces ; the counts of Armagnac, of Comminges, and of Rhodez, and a great number of viscounts and lords made similar engagements with him.

About the middle of June, the combined army of the Languedocians entered the provinces which Raymond VII had ceded to Louis IX, by the treaty of Paris. In a short time they conquered the greater part of Rasez, of Minervois, of Narbonnois, and of Termenois. Raymond was introduced into Narbonne by the viscount of that city, but the archbishop fled at his approach, and, on his arrival at Beziers, fulminated against him, on the 21st of July, a sentence of excommunication. The inhabitants of the country, seeing their lord engaged in a war with those same Frenchmen, who had been the agents of all the persecutions of the church, and had delivered them up to the merciless tribunal of the faith, thought the moment arrived to free themselves from the insupportable tyranny of the inquisitors. Some Albigensian heretics, who had taken refuge in the castle of Mirepoix, set out in the night of the 28th of May, and surprised the castle of Avignonet, where William Arnold had lately established the supreme tribunal of the inquisition. Four Domin-

icans, two Franciscans, and seven Nuncios or familiars of the inquisition, of whom this tribunal was composed, were cut in pieces. These monks, who had ordered so many murders, who had been insensible to the sorrows of so many families, awaited their murderers on their knees and singing *Te Deum*, without endeavouring either to defend or save themselves. They already anticipated the enjoyment of the glory of the martyrs, so sincerely did they imagine themselves serving God when they bathed his altars with the blood of human victims.²

The inactivity of the kings of Spain, the success of Louis in the lower Pòitou, the defection of the count of Marche, and the lords of Aquitaine, and the flight of Henry III, were enough to abate the courage of Raymond VII. Nevertheless, no army at present menaced his countship of Toulouse, and he wished to judge of the state in which his ally, the king of England, was placed. He came, therefore, to meet him at Bourdeaux, where he signed the treaty of the 28th of August, by which their alliance was confirmed, and both engaged not to treat separately with the king of France.³ But, whoever had seen the king of England near, could have no confidence in him, or in any league of which he was the chief. Ray-

² *Extraits des Procédures de l'Inquisition, touchant le meurtre des Inquisiteurs. Preuves, no. cclxiv, p. 438.*

³ *Rymer Acta, t. i, p. 410, 411.*

mond soon perceived that all his allies were turning against him. Louis had given orders to the count of Marche, to expiate his rebellion by attacking the count of Toulouse. He had joined with him, however, as an inspector, Mauclerc, the ancient duke of Brittany. Raymond soon after received a letter from the count of Foix, the ally upon whom he reckoned the most, which announced that being no longer willing to persevere in a desperate cause, he withdrew his homage, and that he had treated with the king, who had taken him under his immediate protection.⁴ Whatever resentment Raymond might testify at this defection, there is reason to suspect that he had, at this very time, dispatched the bishop of Toulouse to the king, to treat for his own submission. The conditions which this prelate demanded not having been acceded to, Raymond VII wrote, on the 20th of October, to Saint Louis, submitting to him unconditionally, and demanding mercy for himself and his associates, with the exception of the heretics, upon whom he promised to execute severe justice, as well as upon those who had killed the inquisitors.⁵

Louis, who had sent a fresh body of troops against Raymond, under the orders of the bishop of Clermont and Imbert de Beaujeu, and who had

⁴ *Hist. de Languedoc*, t. III, liv. xxv, c. 62, p. 435. *Guill. de Podio Laur.* ch. xlvi, p. 698. *P. de Marca, Hist. de Béarn*, liv. VIII, ch. xxiii, p. 763.

⁵ *Hist. de Languedoc*, l. xxv, c. lxiv, p. 436. *Preuves*, n. 251, p. 415.

demanded of an assembly of the Gallican church, held at Paris, a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues, to defray the expense of a new crusade against the Albigenses,⁶ suffered himself nevertheless to be moved by the solicitations of Raymond; and so much the more, as they were powerfully recommended by queen Blanche, cousin of the count of Toulouse. Commissaries from the king met Raymond in Lauraguais, the 22nd of December, 1242, and agreed with him that the treaty of Paris should be restored in its full extent. Soon after, Raymond set out for Lorris, in Gatinois, where the king had appointed to meet him. He renewed his homage to him in the month of January, 1243, and peace was thus restored to all that part of France where the Provençal language was spoken.⁴

⁶ *Matth. Paris*, p. 527.

⁷ *Hist. de Languedoc*, l. xxv, c. lxv, lxvi, p. 437. *Bernardi Guidonis vita Cœlestini IV*, *Scr. Rer. Ital.* t. iii, p. 589.

THE END.

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